Nadin Helmi

FORGING HERITAGE PRESERVATION: ROAD MAP FOR

IMPROVING PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT IN ALEXANDRIA

MA Thesis in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management.

Central European University

Budapest

June 2020

FORGING HERITAGE PRESERVATION: ROAD MAP FOR IMPROVING PUBLIC

ENGAGEMENT IN ALEXANDRIA

by

Nadin Helmi

(Egypt)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy,

Management.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Nadin Helmi**, candidate for the MA degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 18 June 2020

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Signature

Abstract

In recent years, the issue of demolishing heritage buildings in Alexandria has caught the attention of the public, most notably, the buildings protected by Law 144, enacted in 2006. This pattern highlighted the circumstances in which the buildings were demolished and also raised questions about the efficiency of the system that manages it. Moreover, the ambiguity of the law caused a conflict in the proceedings for listing and registering heritage buildings in the national heritage list. As a consequence, several heritage buildings were removed from the heritage list based on court rulings stating the illegality of their initial listing in the national heritage records. Social movement was established in this regard, 'Save Alex', to demand the preservation of the city's heritage.

The thesis explores the role of civil society movements, in particular, the "Save Alex movement," in setting off a wave of heritage activism to claim public spaces and heritage back for the people. This thesis analyzes the tools of mobilization that influence policymakers' decisions and approaches concerning state policy in heritage and urban management. Moreover, the thesis views the potentials of involving the public in adaptive reuse projects through the case study of Société Immobilièr building by SIGMA properties. Throughout the thesis, I argue that adopting a bottom-up approach for the protection of heritage will improve the failing system of urban governance. This thesis demonstrates that community engagement is the most efficient way to safeguaurd Egyptian architectural heritage.

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I am grateful for many people who pushed and encouraged me to be able to produce this thesis. I would like to thank first, my supervisor Katalin Wollak for her constant support and encouragement. I would like to express my sincere appreciation to all the professors and the instructors I had the opportunity to work with. It has been a pleasure and an authentic learning experience. I would also like to thank Prof. Alice Choyke and Prof Jozsef Laszlovszky for supporting this project and dedicate their time and efforts to help in such hard times, and for that, I will be forever grateful.

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Finally, I dedicate this work to my sweet daughter Sophia.

And Now! Falyakon Ma Yakon.

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List of Abbreviations

ALEXMED Alexandria and Mediterranean Research Center.

APT Alexandria Preservation Trust.

BCO Buy-Conserve-Operate.

CEALEX Centre d'études Alexandrines.

DOCOMOMO The International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites, and Neighborhoods of the Modern Movement.

ECESR Egyptian Center for Economic and Social Rights.

NOUH National Organization for Urban Harmony.

NGOs Non-Profit Organizations. Non Governmental organizations.

Introduction

The memory of cosmopolitan Alexandria still lives through its rich architectural heritage. Regretfully, taking advantage of the absence of critical oversight in light of the political events that took place after the eruption of the revolution in 2011, several heritage buildings were demolished in Alexandria – something described as "the massacre of heritage." However, the scope of the crisis goes far beyond Alexandria, as hundreds of heritage buildings all over Egypt were pulled down. This pattern of destruction focussed attention on the circumstances in which the buildings were demolished and also raised questions about the efficiency of the system that manages it. The heritage under discussion was covered with legal protection, Law 144, enacted in 2006, that regulates the protection and the management of Architectural Heritage. The ambiguity of the law caused conflicts in the proceedings of listing and registering heritage buildings in the national heritage list.

As a consequence, many heritage buildings were demolished, taking advantage of perceived weaknesses in the system and legal loopholes. In this context, the blame was directed to the state for its inability to establish an efficient system for the management and protection of heritage. In 2012, a social movement in Alexandria, *Save Alex,* drew public attention to the destruction of heritage buildings. A group of academics and heritage activists took a stand for the protection of the city's heritage, emphasizing cultural heritage right. Such efforts contributed to pushing heritage-related discussions onto the agenda of public debates.

Thus, government policies in heritage management were challenged frequently, accused of failing to set up an effective system for protecting architectural heritage. This is apparent in the Alexandria Administrative court commentary on the inconsistencies in Law 144 - I will elaborate on this issue in detail later. While the crisis of heritage demolition was escalating,

Law 144 was blamed for its inconsistency. I started the research by deconstructing the legal system that was supposed to protect this heritage to determine the functionality of the system that manages it. Then I move on to uncover the relationship between different administrative bodies established under this Law and explain the limitations of their responsibility. Major defects were noted that potentially threaten the continuity of the whole system and contribute to the continuing demolition of heritage buildings—the faults most notably, concerning heritage criteria, and the listing process.

In that context, this research offers a comprehensive understanding of the legislation-related issues that contributed to the demolition of urban heritage in Egypt. More importantly, the research aims to improve the efficacy of public engagement for the protection of urban heritage by providing grassroots and local communities with mobilization tools. As the process of managing the architectural heritage is executed at a local level, the participation of the local community in the safeguarding process is crucial. Moreover, to address the issue of the inefficiency of the heritage management system, I argue that adopting a bottom-up approach will improve national policy and safeguard this rich architecture. The buildings under protection draw their values and importance from their social context and artistic significance as well. Therefore, their integration into the social narrative is essential for the safeguarding of heritage. For that reason, this thesis demonstrates how community engagement is one of the most efficient methods for safeguarding Egyptian architectural heritage.

The main gap that this thesis aims to bridge is the lack of legal coherence - and the inability to identify what constitutes heritage buildings. In addition, I will explore possible actions to urgently safeguard threatened heritage sites and propose alternatives to ensure their protection and integration within the social narrative.

I, myself, was confronted with a case of heritage demolition in 2013 while working at the Egyptian Center for Economic and Social Rights (ECESR). The program is dedicated to litigation for the protection of heritage and will be discussed later in the thesis. Based on my observations in the field after working closely with 'Save Alex' and other heritage stakeholders in Alexandria, I identified a gap in knowledge that requires research to fill. Accordingly, I designed the thesis to fulfill the need for a holistic assessment of the experience to decide on the best future approaches. In addition, I had a special personal interest in documenting the work of civil society movements in a time where simple freedoms are being challenged by laws. Consequently, Law No. 70, enacted in 2017, that regulates the operation of the civil society sector placed restrictions meant to limit the civil society sector's impact in the field.[1] Moreover, the law enabling the prosecution of civil society members and prohibit researchers from conducting fieldwork without approval.[2] For those reasons, the research also explores potential paths to overcome this challenge and promote heritage protection.

In light of the above issues, the questions addressed in the thesis are as following:

- What are the criteria for identifying architectural heritage? Who is responsible for managing heritage under Law 144?
- What are the reasons behind the ineffectiveness of Law 144 in giving legal protection to heritage buildings?
- To what extent can grassroots activism influence heritage policies in Egypt?
- What tools can grassroots activism rely on to mobilize for the conservation of urban heritage?
- What are the solutions to garner interest and encourage the involvement of the local community in decisions related to heritage management?

In order to address the above questions, I structured the thesis as follows:

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[1] Sadek, George. "Global Legal Monitor 'Jurisdiction: Egypt.'" Library of congress, June 9, 2017. https://www.loc.gov/law/foreign-news/article/egypt-president-ratifies-ngo-law/#:~:text=The Law sets out restrictions, tension, or damaging national security.
[2] This issue is not explored in detail here, for more information about the situation of civil society in Egypt: https://www.hrw.org/tag/egypt-crackdown-civil-society

The first chapter introduces the regulation and management of heritage in Egypt. First, I track the development of the right to cultural heritage in constitutional projects. Meanwhile, I identify political and socio-economic drivers, contributing to each constitutional amendment. The second part of the chapter introduces the national laws for the protection of heritage in Egypt, Law No. 117, and for the protection of monuments and Law 144, enacted in 2006. I will also identify the different actors involved in the management of architectural heritage in Egypt. Lastly, I explain the listing process and criteria for heritage under Law 144, the main focus of the thesis. In doing so, I rely on legislative documents as a primary source in the research, including different versions of the national constitution, beginning with the 1882 constitution to the last constitutional amendment, added in 2014, and more specifically, articles related to cultural components and social norms.

I consulted the legislation and documents that regulate its procedures, in particular, Law 144. for 'Regulating the Demolition of Non-Dilapidated Buildings and Establishments, and the Preservation of Architectural Heritage.' Also known as the 'Architectural Heritage' law. I have also reviewed the data on heritage listing and management provided on the website of the National Organization for Urban Harmony (NOUH). As secondary sources, I looked at publications and articles introducing the history of the constitution in Egypt. I use those sources to build a timeline to mark the changes in each constitutional document.

I use the term "Cultural Community" in this chapter and throughout the thesis, to refer to the active members of the arts, journalism, activist, academic communities. I also include other people with a knowledgeable presence in society through media platforms and with influence on the local communities. As well, I referred to the national heritage buildings registry as the "heritage list." As well, I referred to the national heritage buildings registry as the "heritage

list," and in the case of Alexandria "Alexandria heritage list" or "the volume of Alexandria heritage."

In the second chapter, I take a closer look at the management and surveying mechanisms for heritage within the Alexandria governorate. I named the chapter after an Egyptian film that features a chapter of the life of its Director, Youssef Chahine, in Alexandria. The film, Alexandria .. why? (Iskanderia .. lih?) produced in 1979, picturing Chahine as a young Jewish living in Alexandria during World War II. The film gives a view on the end of the cosmopolitan Alexandria and the struggle of its society. Chahine's love and passion for the city were transmitted strongly through the visuals of the landscape and dialogues that sorrows the lost city. [3]

As for the arrangement of the chapter; First, I present the historical context of the architectural heritage to provide a deeper understanding of its origin and significance. I rely on a variety of research and historiography studies related to Alexandria, in particular, publications concerned with the twentieth century. Second, I examine the local heritage record from its initial drafting to its final form. In connection with the management of heritage, I introduce the local management authorities and the listing committee and clarify the linkage between their work and the limitations of their responsibility. Third, I present an analysis clarifying the legal loopholes highlighted by the Alexandria Administrative Court that contributed to the removal of heritage buildings from the local record using some concrete examples.

I primarily analyze the only published version of the volume of Alexandria heritage "Preservation of heritage buildings in Alexandria record." The importance of the record is that it included a detailed report on the listing proceedings and a list of the architectural heritage sites. The information presented in the report formed the basis of my analysis and revision of

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[3] For more information see, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0077751/.

the listing-related gaps. Additionally, I went through different online media websites concerned with the local news that target Alexandrian readers. The local news platforms and other social media networks such as Facebook pages are the only sources where I can track news of heritage demolitions in the local context.

The third chapter explores the role of civil society movements in initiating a wave of heritage activism to claim public spaces and heritage back for the people. ○Accordingly, I provide an analysis of the context and the use of mobilization tools and lobbying for the protection of heritage. The main focus of the chapter is 'Save Alex's' experience in lobbying and mobilizing for safeguarding Alexandrian built heritage. In this regard, I present in detail the case of the reconstruction of the Governor's headquarter on Fouad street and the campaign for the protection of Aghion Villa. As for litigation as a tool of protection, I present two legal cases initiated by the ECESR concerning the Aziza Fahmy palace and the Fenni building. I chose those case studies to showcase litigation's ability to cover the legal tools relevant to my analysis.

I conducted two semi-structured interviews, one with Architect. Ahmed Hassan, an academic architect and urbanist teaching at Alexandria University and co-founder of the'Save Alex' initiative and the other with Mr. Mohamed A. Awaad, an Appellate Lawyer, working at the Egyptian center for economic and social rights. A. Awaad has expertise in appeals involving the removal of architectural heritage from the national heritage list, including the legal case of Aziza Fahmy palace. I based my assessment of the 'Save Alex' on SWOT analysis (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) to assist in drawing up the list of tactics that may be applied in mobilization for heritage protection. For that matter, I consulted legal documents such as judicial verdicts, court reports, and ministerial resolutions that related to the cases under discussion. I also scrutinized local media news and platforms, in particular, "The Walls of

Alex" edited by Architect. Mohamed Adel EL-Dosoky, a co-founder of 'Save Alex.' This work documents the activities of the movement in 2013. Also, the 'Save Alex' page on the social media network "Facebook" was of help in tracking movement activities. More importantly, it was a useful tool in observing the perception of Alexandrians towards their built heritage and their contribution to reporting heritage violations in the areas they live in.

The fourth and the last chapter is dedicated to exploring adaptive reuse potentials of heritage buildings through the case study of the Societé Immobilière building by SIGMA properties. The rehabilitation plan of the building included the establishment of an art space (Shelter) in the bunker and a center for food and beverage brands (L-Passage) on the ground floor. SIGMA works closely with stakeholders and consults the local community about the rehabilitation and social integration of the built heritage they are conserving. Moreover, SIGMA connected the rehabilitation projects with the development plan of the historical city center as in the case of Societé Immobilière building. I chose to present this case as it addresses the many uncertainties that link adaptive projects with a gentrification downside. Also, to highlight the impact of social engagement in such projects in particular to the historical districts.

At the beginning of the fourth chapter, I introduce the cultural influence of Fouad Street as part of the historic central district of Alexandria. I bring attention to the project "The re-development of Alexandria's historic city center along Gamal Abdel Nasser Avenue, Salah Salem Street, and Kom El Deka district" conducted cooperatively between local authorities, the private sector, and NGOs in Alexandria. The report was produced by the Alexandria Preservation Trust (APT). The report provided insights into the level of public involvement throughout the project phases. Moving forward, I discuss the business model SIGMA proposed

through the case of the Societé Immobilière building and the establishment of the Shelter art space.

I rely on semi-structured interviews with two active players in founding and managing Shelter art space as part of the rehabilitation of Societé Immobilière building. Mamoon Azmy, an architectural expert and the technical adviser of Shelter, as well as Chymaa Ramzy, the executive director of Shelter art space. The purpose of the interviews is to get their insights about the project as Shelter has direct contact with the local community. Additionally, I revise reports and related-studies concerning the development of Fouad Street. Namely "Revitalizing Alexandria through the symbolic significance of its heritage, urban forms, and the distinctive spirit of place."[4] The journal aims to assess the current status of Fouad Street and propose a solution to revitalize/regenerate the Euro-Mediterranean heritage of Alexandria, ensuring future economic benefits. I use the researcher's analysis to compare to the case on Fouad Street and discuss the gaps in gentrification indicators, especially concerning the social and cultural influences within the district.

At the end of the chapter, I open a discussion concerning the issues surrounding gentrification and its impact on the heritage districts. The discussion in this regard is concerned with public participation in decision-making and the linkage between gentrification and social engagement in historic districts. I bring attention to Lynn Meskell's paper "'Heritage, gentrification, participation: Remaking urban landscapes in the name of culture and historic preservation"[5] The paper treats the way politics and profit are embedded in policy-makers' agendas in relation to heritage centers. The paper presents a perspective on how the strategies of gentrification are

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[4] A.Elseragy, A.Elnokaly, and M.Sabbagh "Revitalizing Alexandria through Its Symbolic Significance of Heritage; Urban Form; and the Distinctive Spirit of Place," *Proceedings of the International Conference on Changing Cities III: Spatial, Design, Landscape & Socio-Economic Dimensions* 1 (2017): 1819–34.

[5] Meskell, Lynn "Heritage, Gentrification, Participation: Remaking Urban Landscapes in the Name of Culture and Historic Preservation," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25, no. 9 (2019): 996–98, https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2018.1542334.

deeply ingrained in political and economic agendas. In this context, the state first burdens local citizens and then frames them as unsuitable stewards of their own heritage. While I both agree and disagree with the author in some points in her argument, I used the paper to shed light on the discussion in Alexandria and accordingly, how to develop awareness and avoid negative aspects. I also consulted a study entitled 'Gentrification indicators in the historic city of Cairo" to engage in a discussion concerning the exploration of adaptive reuse models in the local context, particularly projects that benefit the local community economically and bring new cultural meanings to the built heritage.

In conclusion, I draw a map of the relevant analyses throughout the thesis and explain my conclusion that engaging the public provides a solution for improving urban development and policies. Accordingly, I recommend steps that can be undertaken to ensure the urgent safeguarding of architectural heritage and better practices engaging the public as well for the future. The recommendations address executive authorities and the local listing committee, urging them to consider the modification of the heritage list as a first step, among other recommendations that aim for the improvement of the protection system for architectural heritage.

Keywords: Public-engagement, bottom-up, heritage activism, mobilization, heritage conservation.

Chapter 1. Legal protection and management of heritage in Egypt

This chapter presents an overview of the legislation for the protection of heritage buildings. Firstly, I provide a historiographical view of the Egyptian constitution to track the development of culture and heritage rights in the legislation system. Secondly, I introduce the current laws that regulate the management of heritage. In particular, the thesis is concerned with a specific legal category of built heritage, namely "Architectural Heritage Buildings." that are regulated with Law 144, enacted in 2006. Throughout the thesis, I will refer to the buildings covered by this law as "heritage buildings." The listing criteria and process of heritage building will be explained at the end of the chapter.

The current legal system is structured based on a mixture of Islamic *"Sharia"* Law and the Napoleonic Code[6]. The Egyptian Constitution is at the top of the hierarchal legal system; therefore, laws and regulations must be compatible with its principles.[7](Figure 1 Relational Diagram explaining the legislations hierarchy. Source: the researcher.) In this framework, the Supreme Constitutional Court was established to review the constitutional laws and regulations as legislative texts exclusively. Additionally, Prime Ministerial Resolutions aim to coordinate between ministries and enforce the agenda of the president. There are Ministerial Resolutions, which aim to establish procedures to facilitate the execution of recently enacted laws within

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[6] It is stated in the 2nd article of the constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt that "Islam is the religion of the state and Arabic is its official language. The principles of Islamic *Sharia* law constitute the principal source of legislation." The article was firstly introduced in the 1956 constitution and have became embodied in the legal system since then.

[7] El-Awa, Mariam M. "Confidentiality in Arbitration: The Case of Egypt." In *Us Gentium: Comparative Perspectives on Law and Justice*, 1st ed., 97–110. Switzerland : Springer International Publishing, 2016.
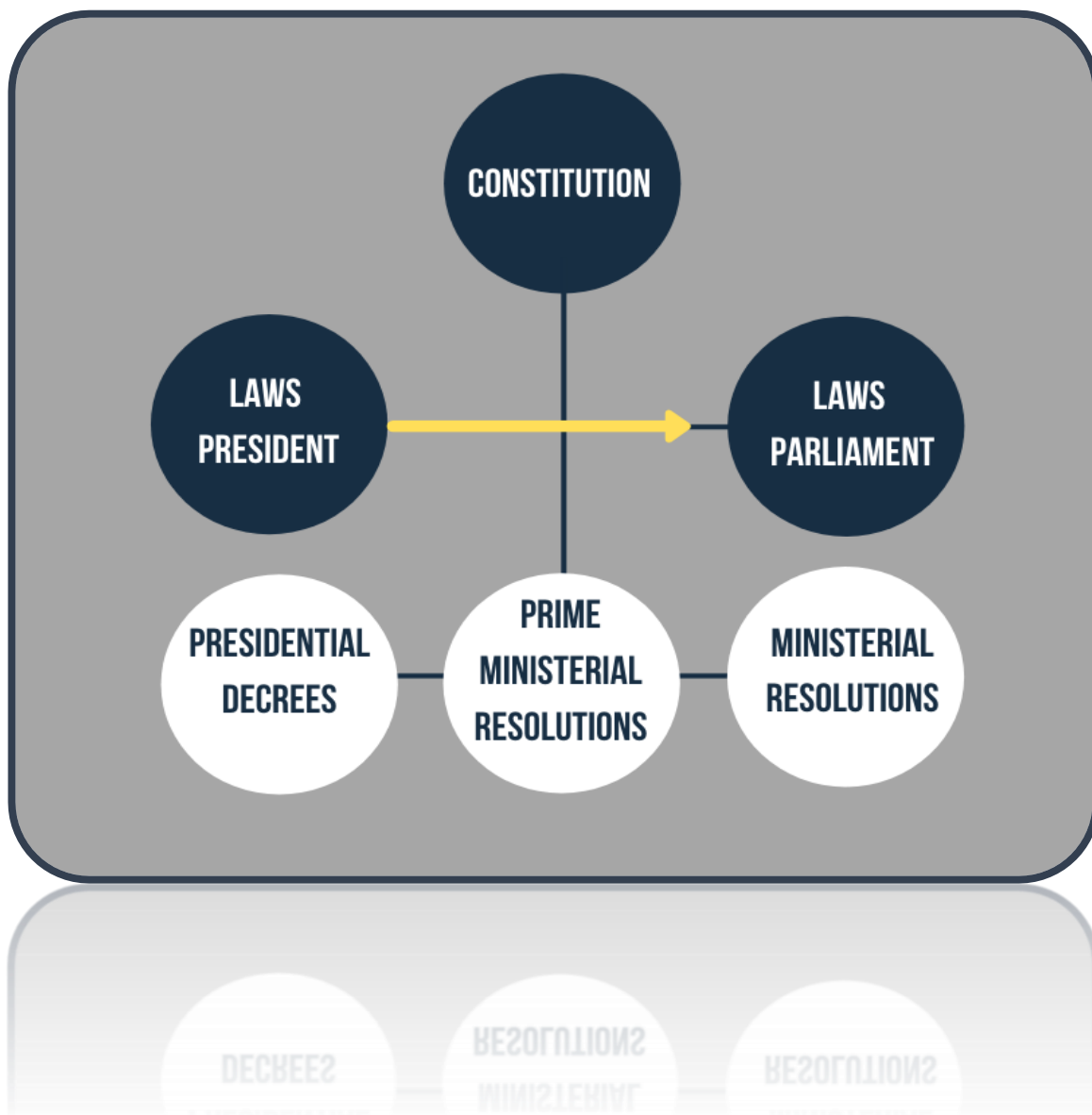
the ministries jurisdiction. The law and resolutions have to be published in the official newspaper " *Al-Waqa' Al-Misriyya"* to enter into force.[8]

1.1 Right to cultural heritage in the Egyptian **Constitution**

The process of constitutionalizing heritage protection went through many phases until it reached its current form. While the first constitutional documents did not include explicit articles that refer to the importance of protecting and maintaining heritage, there were protectionist measures adopted in the form of laws and governmental decrees that aim to

Figure 1 Relational Diagram explaining the legislations hierarchy. Source: the researcher. safeguard

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[8] Article (225), the 2014 constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

heritage and Egyptian monuments. Meanwhile, the change in the political regime that took place after the January 25, 2011 revolution required a new constitution that reflects the spirit and the power of the uprising. The cultural community has pushed to include provisions to emphasize the necessity of protecting cultural and natural heritage. Consequently, the final version of the Constitution included satisfying articles that reflect both the State's and the people's stand on heritage protection.

1.1.1 Culture and identity in early constitutional documents

The first significant constitutional document in Egypt was "the 1882 Constitution," which laid the foundations of the parliamentary system in Egypt. [9] The importance of the document stems from the recognition of the principle of national sovereignty and imposing Arabic as the official language of the Representative Assembly. However, the document was considered immature for failing to address the fundamental rights and freedoms of the citizen in Egypt.

In 1923, following the issuance of the *Unilateral Declaration of Egyptian Independence,* a new constitution was drafted reflecting the declaration that recognized Egypt as an independent state and ended Egypt's status as a British protectorate. [10] The new document appeared to be an advanced version compared to the 1882 document as it included articles emphasizing the freedoms and rights of the Egyptian people. Moreover, the legislative committee that was responsible for drafting the constitution included representatives of political parties and national movement leaders who took part in the uprising against British colonial rule. [11] Furthermore, Fouad of Egypt (King of Egypt and Sudan from 1868-1936), emphasized in the

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[9] The 1882 Constitutional Declaration of khedive of Egypt and the Sudan Tewfik Pasha.

[10] The declaration ended the British Government's protectorate over Egypt and granted it nominal independence. The declaration included four reservations that give Britain the right to interfere in the internal affairs in issues related to foreign relations, communications, the military, and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

[11] Al-Sayyid, Mustapha K. "الدســتور والحركــة الوطنيــة فــى مصــر" [the Constitution and the National Movement in Egypt] Al-Shorouk News, September 21, 2015, https://www.shorouknews.com/columns/view.asp...

preamble of the Constitution that the document aimed to ensure that the country maintained its national spirit and characteristics that reflected its exceptional historical heritage. Noteworthy here, the final version of the constitution included an article that acknowledges Arabic as the official language of the country.[12] It appears that the legislators moved a step forward in recognizing and embracing Egyptian culture and identity.

In 1952, a group of military officers formed a movement that toppled the monarchy and announced the establishment of the Republic of Egypt.[13] The change in the political system came with legislative changes, especially when President Nasser (1954-1970) adopted a socialist program that required significant economic transformation.[14] Nasser decreed e punitive confiscation of property and social land reform, reallocating to the government, agricultural lands owned by capitalists.[15] Afterward, a new constitution was adopted in 1956 that declared Egypt to be an independent democratic republic and the Egyptian people part of the Arabic nation. Although the Constitution lacked explicit reference to Egyptian cultural heritage, it emphasized the state's obligation to facilitate cultural services. Other than that, the preamble contained socialist and leftist values reflecting the national ideology.

Meanwhile, Nasser pushed for the construction of the Aswan high dam as part of the modernization program he introduced. The purpose of the project was to have better control over water flooding on the Nile to generate hydroelectric power and expand the water storage capacity. The project endangered ancient Egyptian monuments along the Nile River; the dam

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[12] Article (149), the 1923 constitution of Egypt.

[13] It is being referred to as "The Egyptian revolution of 1952" and is commemorated annually by Egyptians as a national holiday.

[14] Nasser was the second President of Egypt, and one of the leaders of the 'free officer's' movement. His presidency spanned a period from 1956 to his death in 1970. Nasser was known for imposing major socialist measures and modernization reforms in Egypt. He was raised to the status of Arab leader for the role he played in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

[15] Gordon, Joel. Nasser's Blessed Movement: Egypt's Free Officers and the July Revolution. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. https://motherfoucaultsreadinggroup.files.wordpress.com/2016/04/nassers-blessed-movement.pdf.

ultimately flooded the area of South Aswan and put the Abu Simbel and Philae temples at risk of being inundated. Nasser sought international cooperation to save Abu Simbel Temple

Figure 2 UNESCO Campaign poster on the cover of Courier Magazine. Accessed on May 20, 2020 from https://en.unesco.org/courier/2018-2/unesco-courier-70-attending-school-free-thought

through an ambitious plan that included relocating the temple to a nearby hill. In 1958, UNESCO launched a global campaign to mobilize for safeguarding the temple in Egypt as part of the heritage of humanity. (Figure 2 UNESCO Campaign poster on the cover of Courier Magazine. Accessed on May 20, 2020 from https://en.unesco.org/courier/2018-2/unesco-courier-70-attending-school-free-thought

)

Eventually, the ancient Egyptian temples were dismantled, moved to dry ground, and reassembled.[16] The spirit of solidarity and cooperation in the international community for the conservation of heritage encouraged UNESCO's member states to form a new type of institution. Thanks to this international cooperation, the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on November 16, 1972. Egypt was the second country to ratify the convention in 1974.[17]

Following the death of Nasser in 1970, the country went through political changes that lasted until the presidency of Anwar Al- Sadat from 1970 – 1981. He signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1979, which included retrieving the Israeli occupied lands of Sinai. Sadat also announced major changes in reform programs considered "corrective measures," which involved purging the government of Nasserists. Meanwhile, Al Sadat's policies shifted the ideology and the economic system by taking a more "economically liberal" approach. In light of those changes, a new constitution was adopted in 1971 to establish Egypt as a democratic state and proclaimed a system of government comprising a multi-party semi-presidential system.[18] The 1971 Constitution included an article acknowledging the need to protect and promote Egyptian traditions.[19]

[Article.12: The society shall be committed to safeguarding and protecting morals, promoting the genuine Egyptian traditions and abiding by the high standards of religious education, moral and national values, and the historical heritage of the people, scientific

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[16] "About world heritage," UNESCO, accessed January 19, 2020, https://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/.
[17] " Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Paris, 16 November 1972." UNESCO, accessed 19 January 2020.
http://www.unesco.org/eri/la/convention.asp?KO=13055&language=E
[18] "Constitutional history of Egypt," constitution project, accessed 19 January 2020, http://constitutionnet.org/country/egypt.
[19] The 1971 Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt as amended to 2007, accessed on May 20, 2020. http://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/Egypt%20Constitution.pdf

facts, socialist conduct, and public manners within the limits of the Law. The State is committed to abiding by these principles and promoting them.]

It seems that the issue of Abu Simbel drew national and international attention to the importance of safeguarding heritage. In that regard, the drafting of the 1971 constitution included a direct reference to the State's responsibility to protect and promote Egyptian traditions and historical heritage. Undoubtedly, the government had changed its approach to heritage, something which can be seen in the Constitution and the issuance of national laws for the safeguarding of heritage.

Added to that, the government sought cooperation with the international community to promote Egyptian cultural heritage. (Figure 3 President Richard Nixon and Pat Nixon with President Anwar Sadat and Jehan Sadat at the Giza Necropolis Pyramids. Source: U.S. National Archives) For instance, the Egyptian government invited the World Heritage Committee to hold its third session in Luxor in October 1979. Also, UNESCO assisted the Egyptian government in many national projects that aimed to conserve cultural heritage, such as the revival of the Alexandria Library project and the establishment of the Nubia Museum in Aswan. Furthermore, Egypt played an active role in the World Heritage Committee, and a

Figure 3 President Richard Nixon and Pat Nixon with President Anwar Sadat and Jehan Sadat at the Giza Necropolis Pyramids. Source: U.S. National Archives

number of its representatives attained high positions in the organization. Currently, Egypt's profile on the world heritage list includes six cultural heritage sites and one natural heritage site, in addition to thirty-three heritage properties and heritage sites on the tentative list.[20]

1.1.2 Cultural heritage in subsequent constitutions

In January 2011, Egypt witnessed more significant political changes, as masses of people went to the street demanding that Mubarak, the president of Egypt, step down from his position. Bread, freedom, and social justice were the motto of the Egyptian uprising. The revolution was a wake-up call for the citizens to know their rights and a reminder to the state to acknowledge the people's power. It also emphasized various aspects of the rights of citizens, including the right to heritage. In light of those events, people demanded constitutional amendments to reflect upon the uprising's principles. Accordingly, the 2012 Constitution was signed into law by President Mohamed Morsi on 26 December 2012. The 2012 Constitution included two articles on the right to culture as follows:[21]

> [Article 11: Ethics, public morality, and public order: The state safeguards; ethics, public morality and public order, a high level of education, religious and patriotic values, scientific knowledge, Arab culture, and the historical/cultural heritage of the people. The preceding is in accordance with the law.
>
> Article 12: Cultural and linguistic characteristics of society: The state protects the cultural and linguistic characteristics of a society, and works towards the Arabization of education, science, and knowledge. As a consequence, the drafting of the Constitution went through many changes until it reached its current form.]

Soon after, Egyptian *coup d'état* took place, which toppled President Morsi on 3 July 2013 and suspended the 2012 constitution. In 2013, the Head of the Supreme Constitution Court and the

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[20] View Egypt profile on UNESCO: https://en.unesco.org/system/files/countries/Home/egy_facts_figures.pdf
[21] Egypt's Constitution of 2012:https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Egypt_2012.pdf?lang=en

acting President of Egypt, Adly Mansour, decreed the establishment of an expert committee to amend the constitution. Mansour also formed a second committee that aimed to study the expert committee's suggestions and propose them for community dialogue.[22] The members of the Constitution Amendment Committee were selected to represent nearly all elements in a cultural, political, and religious society.[23]

Prominent artists, journalists, filmmakers, and writers took part for the first time in drafting the constitution.[24] The positive impact of their participation appeared in the final draft, as they pushed for the addition of articles that promote cultural heritage as a right of all citizens. The 2014 constitution included a section on the cultural components that establishes cultural identity, guaranteeing the right to culture.[25] The constitution considered the Egyptian cultural heritage in all its diversity as a national and human resource, as well as contemporary architectural, literary, and artistic productions. Additionally, it recognizes and explicitly confirms the state's obligation to preserve the heritage and protect cultural identity. The Cultural Components chapter in the Constitution includes four articles that run as follows:

> [Article (47) The State shall maintain the Egyptian cultural identity with its diversified branches of civilization.]
>
> Article (48) Culture is a right for all citizens. The State shall secure and support this right and make available all types of cultural materials to all strata of the people without any discrimination based on financial capability, geographic location, or others. The State shall give special attention to remote areas and the neediest groups. The State shall encourage translation from and into Arabic.

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[22] Auf, Yussef. "Egypt's Constitutional Committees." Atlantic Council, , September 5, 2013. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/egypt-s-constitutional-committees/.

[23] Mansour, Muhammed "Members of constitutional committee of 50 announced," Egyptian Independent, September 1, 2013, https://egyptindependent.com/members-constitutional-committee-50-announced/.

[24] Al-Qasas, Gamal "المثقفـون المصـريون يكتبـون الدسـتور" [Egyptian intellectuals write the constitution] ASHARQ AL-AWSAT, September 13, 2013. https://aawsat.com/home/article/3195.

[25] Article 2, the 2014 Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

Article (49) The State shall protect and preserve monuments and give due care to monumental sites. It shall also maintain and restore them, recover stolen antiquities, and organize and supervise excavation operations. Presenting monuments as gifts or exchanging them is prohibited. Aggression against or trafficking in monuments is a crime with no statute of limitations.

Article (50) Egypt's civilization and cultural heritage, whether physical or moral, including all diversities and principal milestones – namely Ancient Egyptian, Coptic, and Islamic – is a national and human resource. The State shall preserve and maintain this heritage as well as the contemporary cultural wealth, whether architectural, literary, or artistic, in all its diversities. Aggression against any of the foregoing is a crime punished by the law. The State shall pay special attention to protecting components of cultural pluralism in Egypt.]

It seems that the rapid changes in the political environment did not allow space for constitutional projects to develop or to grow, as the constitutional amendments address a specific political situation rather than establish a long-term vision. In contrast, the 2014 Constitution came as an ambitious project that worked towards the goals of the January 25, 2011 uprising. In particular, the Constitution obligated the State to ensure the implementation of economic, social, and cultural rights, requiring a change in its current policies. In a paper titled "Economic, social and cultural rights in the Egyptian constitution," the author discusses the advantages of the amendments in advancing social and cultural rights.[26] The 2014 Constitution obligated the government to link urban planning with economic development in its policies. Apart from that, the 2014 Constitution establishes an economic system that aims to achieve prosperity in the country through sustainable development goals. In that regard, I see how this new approach could open up possibilities for integrating cultural heritage into sustainable development goals.

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[26] Abdel Hady, Mohamed "في سياق الانتخابات الرئاسية: الحقوق الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والثقافية فى الدستور المصري" [In the occasion of the presidential elections: economic, social and cultural rights in the Egyptian constitution] The Arab Center for Research and Studies, March 23, 2018, http://www.acrseg.org/40686.

I would argue that the freedom space that came with the revolution allowed the cultural community the opportunity to organize and speak up for the protection of Egyptian heritage and culture. One example of that can be seen from the 2014 Constitution and the impact caused by the role played by the representatives of art and culturally related unions in drafting the constitution. The other model will be presented later in this thesis with a case study on the role of grassroots heritage societies in Alexandria (the case of 'Save Alex') in influencing policies for the protection of urban heritage.

1.2 Regulations for the protection of urban heritage

Heritage conservation laws in Egypt defines and categorizes built heritage according to different standards; likewise, the legislation establishes governmental institutions and entities for its management. The administrative bodies concerned with heritage management in Egypt operate on both a central and local level. Thus, each institution works according to a mechanism and approach in line with the established law. The current legislation implements a series of conditions aimed at providing legal protection for heritage buildings. The legislation classifies urban heritage into two categories; The first category is "Antiquities," which is managed by the Ministry of Antiquity. The second category is "Architectural Heritage," which is managed locally by committees of experts.

1.2.1 The protection of monuments

One of the oldest laws for the protection of monuments in Egypt was instituted in 1912 (Law No. 14, enacted in 1912, concerning Egyptian monuments), the Law issued by the last Khedive of Egypt, Abbas Helmi the second. The Law introduced the first definition of monuments as "the material production of arts, sciences, literature, religions, ethics, and craftsmanship that was produced in the Egyptian land during the era of the Pharaohs, the kings of Greece, the

Romans, and the Coptic monuments." [27] As the legislation was developing, the definition eventually evolved to its current form. Most notably, the principles established with the 1912 Law still remain in the current legislation, including the dispossession of heritage buildings on the grounds of public interest.

As for the management of the Egyptian antiquities, the first established Antiquities Authority was founded in 1858, chaired by the French Archaeologist, Auguste Mariette. The Authority was responsible for managing the ancient Egyptian Monuments and prevent trafficking in finds and monuments. For almost a century, antiquities affairs were overseen by French specialists. After the announcement of the Republic of Egypt and the evacuation of British troops, Nasser's government appointed the first Egyptian chairman for the Antiquities Authority in 1956.[28]

The current legislation Law *No. 117 for the protection of monuments* was issued by Parliament in 1983.[29] Building on the previously introduced Law, Law 117 set specific criteria for what could be considered heritage. The legislation essentially classifies heritage based on two factors; time period and value. The Law defines antiquities as any real estate or chattel that meets the following criteria:

> [1. To be the product of Egyptian civilization, the successive civilizations or the creation of art, sciences, literature, or religions that took place on Egyptian lands since prehistoric times and during the successive historical periods up to 100 years ago.
>
> 2. To be of archaeological or artistic value or of historical importance to Egyptian civilization or any other civilization that took place on Egyptian lands.

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[27] Ryad, Hany "حماية الآثار المصرية.. رحلة 200 عام" [Protection of monuments.., 200 years journey] Al Ain news, November 27, 2017. https://al-ain.com/article/egypt-monuments.

[28] "The history of the Ministry," Ministry of Antiquities, accessed May 19, 2020, http://www.antiquities.gov.eg/DefaultAr/About/Pages/history.aspx

[29] Antiquities protection law No. 117 for the year 1983 and its modifications No. 3 -No.61 for the year 2010 and No.91 for the year 2018.

3. To be produced and grown on Egyptian lands and of historical relation. Also, human and animal mummies contemporary to them are considered to be like any antiquity registered following this Law.]

The Law states that whenever the State finds it to be in the national interest to keep or preserve a building, the State may consider the building to be antiquity without being bound by a time limit. The Law gives the government the right to dispossess any real estate if the property may be considered a monument. In the case of private ownership, the owners are restricted from making changes or alterations to the real estate without written consent from the competent authority.

Furthermore, the Law established the Supreme Council of Antiquities to supervise and manage ancient Egyptian antiquities. The Council acts as the exclusive authority concerned with all that is related to antiquities' affairs, including exploration and excavation in lands even if owned by others. Above all, the Law entitles the Council to evacuate a site when evacuation is necessary. Initially, the Council was under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture; later in 2011, it was decided to establish a separate ministry for antiquities management, the "*Ministry of State of Antiquities*." Through various components of the Ministry, it operated the museums and established a fund for Nubian monuments, as well as in two other sectors; 1) the Egyptian, Greek, and Roman antiquities sector, 2) the Islamic, Coptic and Jewish antiquities.

Law 117 was criticized for limiting protection to a particular type of building that is more than 100 years old. This law excludes the heritage of the twentieth century, which was a significant historical period and time of transition. In this context, the former Egyptian Prime Minister, Kamal Al Ganzoury, in 1998, decreed the prohibition of the demolition of any villa or palace in Egypt, in general.[30] However, the decree was later revoked by the Supreme Constitution

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[30] "Al-Waqa'i' Al-Misriyya,". Prime Minister and Deputy of the 'Military Ruler Decree No. 2 for the year 1998, "Restrictions on the destruction of palaces and villas" edition 25, issued in June 21, 1998.

Court in 2006. The legal grounds for the Court's decision will be discussed in the next chapter in detail.

1.2.2 On the protection of architectural heritage

The need appeared for special legislation to protect architectural resources not covered by Law 117, in particular, after the demolition of 'Um-Kalthoum's villa in Zamalek, Cairo.[31] The owners managed to obtain a clearance from the competent local authority to demolish the property. In 2006, legislation was proposed to the Parliament that protects buildings with a social value with no time limit on when the building was constructed. The Parliament approved in July 2006, Law No. 144, "*Regulating the Demolition of Non-Dilapidated Buildings and Establishments, and the Preservation of Architectural Heritage.*"[32]

The law aims at regulating procedures surrounding the demolition of reasonably well-preserved buildings and place restrictions on demolishing properties that are associated with social value. Hence, the law establishes a new legal classification for heritage as any property in a unique architectural style that is associated with the country's national history, a historical figure, a tourist attraction, and/or is representative of a historical epoch. Unlike the Monuments law, Law 144 law became prominent because of its symbolic and functional value, which were the result of social interaction for protection. The legislation established the symbolic and functional value that came as a result of social interaction with the facility as the standard for providing protection.

As for the listing process, the Law tasks each governor to form a local committee to conduct a survey and a study of those buildings which fit the previously mentioned criteria. The listing

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[31] Um Kalthoum is one of the artistic legends in Egypt. Even today Egyptians have a sentimental connection to her legacy. Most of her great songs were written and composed at that house by great poets and musicians.
[32] "Al-Waqa'i' Al-Misriyya,". Law No. 144 enacted in 2006, "that regulate the demolition of unthreatened buildings and the Conservation of the architectural heritage" edition 28, issued in July 15, 2006.

committee to consist of the following: A representative of the Ministry of Culture chosen by the Minister of Culture and who shall preside over the Committee - A representative of the Ministry of Housing, Infrastructure and Urban Development selected by the concerned Minister of Housing Matters - Two members representing the Governorate - Five members from the teaching organism of the universities that specialize in the fields of architectural engineering, structural engineering, antiquities and, history - and who are chosen by the concerned university's presidents as per the request of the governor. The governor approves the listing of the buildings and submits the committee's report to the Prime Minister's office, who then issues an official decree identifying the building as architectural heritage.

1.3 Actors in heritage management

From the previous reviews of laws and regulations in the protection of urban heritage, it can be seen that there is no unified or standard administrative structure for the management of urban heritage. Each legislation came to establish or identify an entity that was concerned with the affairs of the heritage it regulates. The administrative bodies concerned with heritage operate on both the central and the local level. In this next part, I will present a summary of the function and role of the government entities concerned with heritage in Egypt.

The Ministry of Antiquities

According to the Ministry's website, the Ministry's mission is to formulate and implement all policies related to antiquities, provide permits for excavations and restoration, and supply funds for its projects. The Ministry conducts studies of heritage sites and monuments and oversees the publication of magazines and books on archaeology and cultural heritage. In addition, the Ministry of Antiquities manages a comprehensive system of museums nationwide. The Ministry reserves the right to confiscate land or buildings from individuals to preserve their

heritage value. The Ministry also bears the expenses of restoration of archaeological buildings even if privately owned by individuals or others.[33]

The Ministry of Culture

Ministry of Culture is responsible for promoting the culture of Egypt and provides national guidance when it comes to cultural affairs. The Ministry draws up cultural policies and implements it through its institutes and agencies such as the Supreme Council of Culture, the General Egyptian Book Authority, General Authority for Cultural Palaces, and the Fine Arts Sector, among other institutions. Additionally, the Ministry has established cultural centers " Palace of Culture " in all of Egypt's governorates to serve a wide audience of locals.[34]

National Organization for Urban Harmony

In 2001, former President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak issued a decree that includes the establishment of an organization affiliated with the Ministry of Culture and the National Organization for Urban Harmony (NOUH). The organization aims to apply aesthetic values to the exterior image of buildings, urban and monumental spaces, the basis of the visual texture of cities and villages, and all civilized areas of the country, including new urban societies.[35] The organization's role is to guide urban management in Egypt by reformulating the aesthetic vision and lay the foundations for dealing with the architectural and urban landscape. However, it is important to note that the organization's function comes mostly in the form of consultations and guidance, and it draws its executive power from cooperation with local authorities and entities.

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[33] "About the ministry," The ministry of ministry of antiquities, Accessed on 19 January 2020, http://www.antiquities.gov.eg/

[34] The aim of its establishment is to spread culture among the people's classes, participate in raising the cultural level, and direct the national awareness in the fields of cinema, theater, literature, music, and folk. As well, child activity and library services for the residents of the governorate.

[35] "National Organization for Urban Harmony (NOUH)," The Cairo Urban Initiatives Platform (CUIP), accessed on May 20, 2020, https://www.cuipcairo.org/en/directory/national-organization-urban-harmony-nouh.

Furthermore, NOUH's headquarter sin Cairo accommodates the Grievance Committee, whose role is to decide on the appeals of a given heritage building's owners. The decisions of the committee are published on the NOUH website and can be accessed through the database of Architectural Heritage Buildings.[36] The database includes the necessary information to identify the heritage properties as follows; type of the structure, address, listing code, the ownership status, and the status of grievances.

The Supreme Committee for the Management of World Heritage Sites

The committee was established by presidential decree in December 2018 to develop a strategy to manage and preserve world heritage sites.[37] The committee aims to facilitate and coordinate Egyptian authorities involved in World Heritage property management, whether on a national or international level. The committee includes all relevant ministries and officials and reports directly to the president.

1.4 Listing architectural heritage

1.4.1 Listing criteria

Referring back to what was described above, Law 144 established a general standard that identifies the buildings qualified to come under the protection of this law. The law only protects buildings inventoried because of their historical significance and acceptance in society. As stated in the 2nd article of Law 144;

> [It shall be prohibited to authorize demolishing or adding to the buildings and with a peculiar architectural style that is correlated to the country's national history, or a

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[36] "The list of buildings with distinct value" the National Organization for Urban Harmony, accessed on May 19, 2020, http://urbanharmony.org/ar_cities.asp

[37]Mohamed,   Ayad   "قــرار جمهــورى.. تشــكيل لجنــة لإدارة مواقــع التــراث العــالمى"   [Presidential   Decision .. Forming   a   committee   to   manage   World   Heritage   sites] Mobtada   news,   December   14, 2018, https://www.mobtada.com/details/795677.

historical figure, or represent a historical epoch, or considered a tourist sight, without derogation from the legally payable compensation...]

The law grants the prime minister the authority to issue a decree that interprets the previously mentioned standards. Prime Minister Decree No. 2276 from 2006 set the criteria for the standards.[38] The decree identified Architecture Heritage as following; Firstly, "Buildings and structures of outstanding architectural style" such as the buildings or complexes which are characterized by their architectural value, construction materials, or construction methods and they should fit one of the following criteria:

- o It was established according to concepts or a specific architectural movement.
- o It reflects the characteristics of a particular historical era.
- o It is distinguished by its unique architecture that reflects the local environment.
- o It is characterized by its rarity and uniqueness.

Secondly, the criteria of "buildings associated with national history" includes buildings that have an association with influential events in the history of the nation. Thirdly, the criteria of "buildings associated with historical character" refers to buildings that accommodated any Egyptian and non-Egyptian characters that influenced society. Lastly, buildings that the general public visit for tourism purposes.

The values were explained in further detail in a guideline issued by the National Organization for Urban Harmony (NOUH).[39]The guidelines aim to increase awareness of the importance of heritage buildings and identify ways to preserve architectural and urban heritage. The NOUH targets a broad audience of engineers, architects, urban planners, archaeologists, and municipal employees. Firstly, the *Historical Value* can be identified by the age of the building, material

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[38] "Al-Waqa'a Al-Masria". Prime Minister Ahmed Nazif Decree No. 2276, edition 50, December 14, 2008.
[39] "Supporting and developing the Egyptian National Urban Observatory project," أسس ومعايير التنسيق الحضارى لإدارة الجودة," [Foundations and standards for urban harmony and quality management], National Organization for Urban Harmony, first edition, 2010. http://www.urbanharmony.org/guide/gawda.pdf

condition, and its representation. The decree also indicated that the *Architectural Value* of the building can be based on its distinctive architectural style or if it reflects features of a particular historical era. Likewise, of importance is the *Symbolic Value* associated with its architecture or its interaction with the community. This leads to the *Urban Value*, which can be determined while exploring the connection between the building and both the landscape and the nation. Lastly, the *Social Function Value* can be scaled based on the function of the building in the society.

1.4.2 Listing process
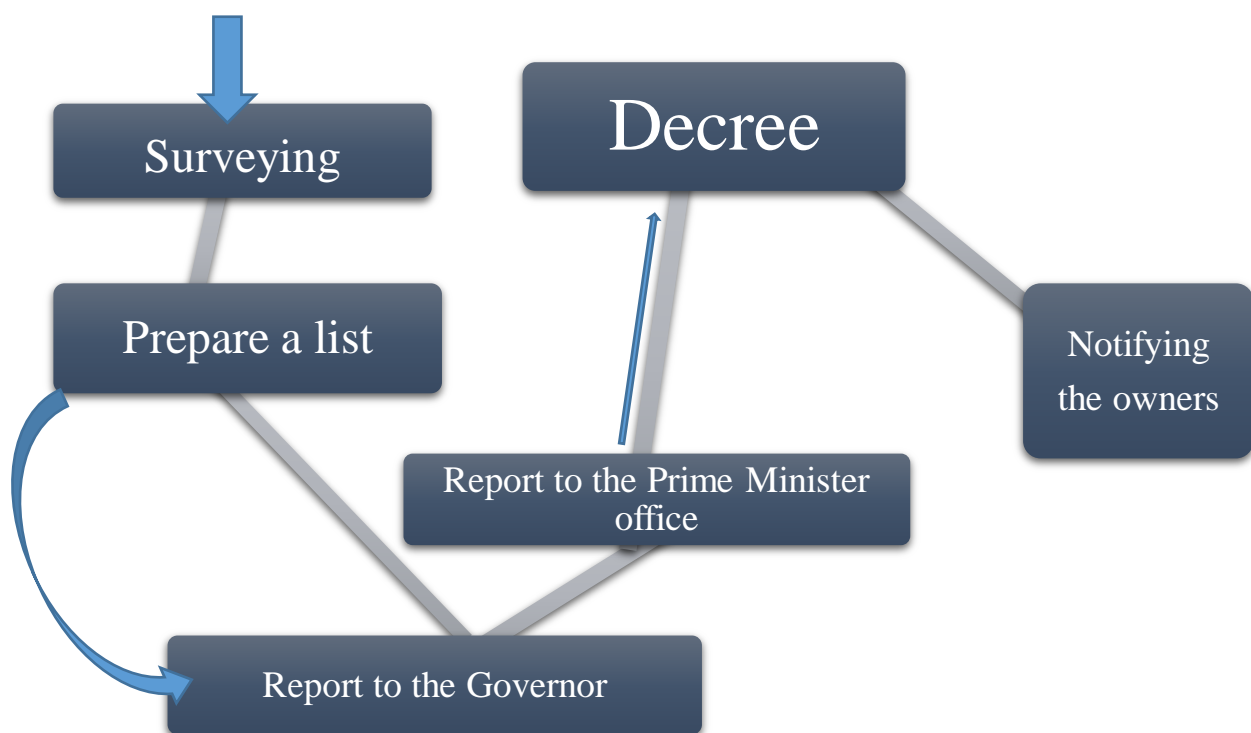
Figure 4 Listing process of architectural heritage. Source: the researcher.

Phase one: Surveying

The listing committee's first task is to survey the buildings that meet the standards mentioned above in the governorate. For the achievement of that purpose, the law instructed the committee to communicate and cooperate with different bodies to gain access to databases and documents.

Phase Two: Preparation of a list

The committee must establish a record or a list stating the following: location and address of the building, name of owner and occupants, the building function, legal status of building, and facilities. In addition to building's components and details, mention must be made of the condition of the structure and elements of preservation. The regulation obliged the committees to include the reasons for the registration of buildings.

Phase Three: Report to the Governor

The records of the committee and its reports should be submitted to the governor, who adopts the list. The committee conducts its meets at the invitation of the governor to revise and amend the record if necessary.

Phase Four: Report to the prime minister's office

The governor submits the records of the committee to the prime minister's office.

Phase Five: Official decree

Law 144 conditioned the issuance of an official decree by the prime minister declaring the buildings as architectural heritage. The decree should be published in the official newspaper when it is enacted. The law instructs the prime minister to issue an official decree as well in cases where the status of registration has changed.

Phase Six: Notifying the owners

The law instructs the governor to take the necessary measures to ensure that the owners of the buildings declared as heritage should be notified about the situation. The owners are given a window of sixty-days to appeal the decision to list their buildings, as of the date of being notified by a registered letter with acknowledgment of receipt. The appeals should be submitted to the grievance committee, located at the NOUH's headquarters in Cairo. In the case the

owners are not satisfied with the committee's decision, the owners have the right to appeal before the Administrative Court.

Chapter II | Alexandria … Why?

In this chapter, I introduce the city of Alexandria and its economic position in the country as an industrial, tourist, and agricultural city. I will give a brief historical background that aims to highlight the impact of the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Alexandria on the city's architecture and explore the history behind its urban planning. I first present an overview of the historical layers of Alexandria that left their marks on the modern city scene. The motivation behind this presentation is to understand why the city has its current image.

In the second section of this chapter, I will present an overview of the documentation efforts of Alexandria architectural heritage before and after the issuance of Law No. 144. Then, I will examine the Alexandria heritage list and the stated criteria for architectural heritage. At the end of this chapter, I will discuss the criticisms leveled at the listing process in Alexandria that contributed to the demolition of heritage buildings in Alexandria.

2.1 The governance and administrative system

The city of Alexandria is located on the northern coast of Egypt on the Mediterranean Sea and extends for around 40 kilometers along the coast. Alexandria is the second-largest city in Egypt and the capital of the Alexandria governorate, which includes the City of Borg El-Arab as well.[40] Moreover, Alexandria is the second-most populous city in Egypt. The city population exceeds five million, according to the last population count in 2020.[41] Administratively, Alexandria is divided into nine districts that extend from the northeast (Montaza District) to the southwest (Ameria district and Borg El-Arab center). Each district differs in nature and

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[40] Mackie, J. Alan Michael J. Reimer, Mary Rowlatt, "Alexandria," ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, November 29, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/place/Alexandria-Egypt/Transportation.
[41] "Population monitor," Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, accessed 27 January 2020. https://www.capmas.gov.eg/Pages/populationClock.aspx

activity, from tourism to industry, agriculture, and trade. Speaking of the city urban character of Alexandria, the National Urban Observatory report divided the city into four urban zones as follows: [42]

The East Zone: Extends from the heart of the city, Hadayq Al-Shalalat in the east to Al-Montaza, Al-Ma'amoura, and Abu Qir in the west, the area is residential in nature but surrounded by an industrial zone on the east and south. The area is also characterized by its beaches that are suitable for vacationers and tourists with different income levels.

The West Zone: Includes the northwestern coastal part of the city and the El Max, Dekheila, and Agami area. The area is known for its industrial and commercial character as it includes several factories in addition to the western port. There are a number of heritage villas located there as well as some archaeological sites.

The Downtown Zone: Includes ruins and structures from ancient Alexandria as well as residential spaces and buildings that follow distinguish architectural styles. The Downtown zone is also considered to be a cultural center as it includes the Alexandria library, the Museum of Art, and Alexandria University's main campus, as well as the ruins from ancient Egyptian and Roman civilizations such as Serapeum and Pompey's Pillar.

Southwest Zone: The city is surrounded by agricultural areas on its southwestern part in addition to established reclamation projects located to the west of Al-Ameria.

Furthermore, Alexandria presents itself as a hub for the international shipping and trading industry and an important economic center. The port of Alexandria is Egypt's largest, as it

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[42] "Supporting and developing the Egyptian National Urban Observatory project," اعداد نظرة شاملة عن قضايا الاسكان [Preparing a comprehensive overview of housing issues and ورصد التغيرات التى تطرأ على سوق الاسكان مدينة الاسكندرية], National Urban Observatory, January 17, 2010, https://www.arabgeographers.net/up/uploads/14412425631.pdf

contributes around Fifty-seven percent of the total port capacity in the country.[43] In addition, the city is considered an essential industrial base in Egypt as it includes many large industrial zones that are famous for textile manufacturing, vegetable oil production, a pulp and paper industry, as well as a large iron and steel production complex in Agamy District. Moreover, Alexandria attracts much tourism because of its rich natural and cultural resources. Cultural tourism presently accounts for thirty-six percent of domestic tourism and twelve percent of international tourism to Egypt.[44]

2.2 Historical remarks in urban city planning

The streets of Alexandria carry accumulated human experiences that are linked to various historical, social, and cultural events imprinted on the features of its residents. In the ancient world, Alexandria was the second most significant city in the Roman Empire, a status that was maintained until the fall of the empire. The city was founded in 331 BC when Alexander the Great entrusted a Greek architect, *Dinocrates of Rhodes*, to design the city. Dinocrates' surveying work was laid out based on a Hippodamian plan that was popular in Hellenistic city planning. The city was planned like a chessboard, consisting of seven horizontal streets extending from east to west and surrounded today by Canopus Street or "Freedom Road," and eleven perpendicular streets that extend from north to south with Nabi Daniel Street at their center. The squares at the intersection of this road grid were used for building housing in the city as well as various installations.[45] (Figure 5)

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[43] Pagnoni, Gianluca, Alberto Armigliato, Stefano Tinti, "Scenario-based assessment of buildings damage and population exposure due to tsunamis for the town of Alexandria, Egypt," Natural Hazards Earth System Scinces, (2015): 2670.

[44] Abu Shal, Nabil "هيئة التنشيط بالإسكندرية: المحافظة تستحوذ على 36% من السياحة الداخلية" [Alexandria Tourism Promotion Authority: the governorate accounts for 36% of domestic tourism] Al-Masry Al-Youm News, March 11, 2019, https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/1377391.

[45] Pinchin, J. Lagoudis. "Alexandria Still: Forster, Durrell, and Cavafy." Princeton University Press, 2015)
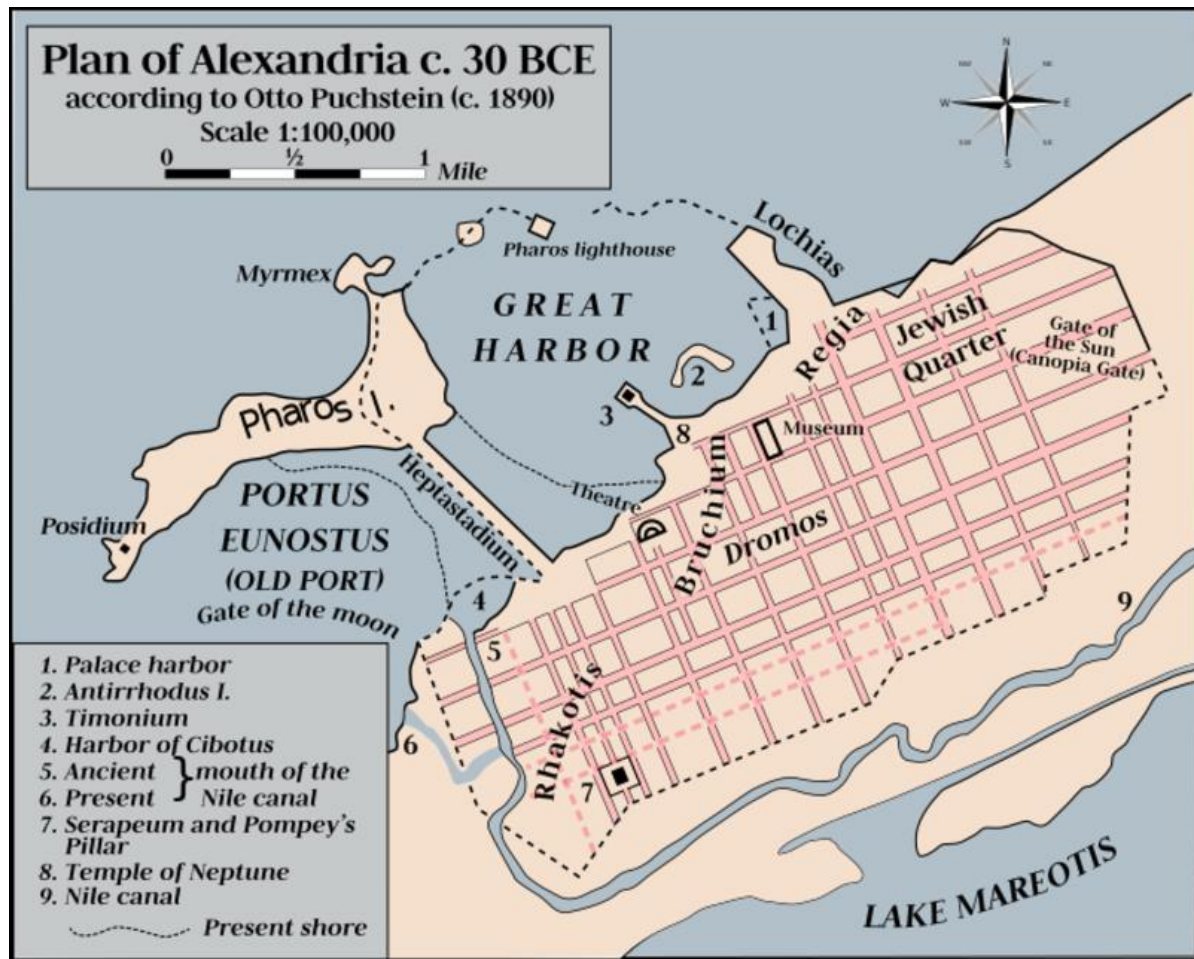
Figure 5 City plan of Alexandria c. 30 B.C. Shepherd, William (1911) Historical Atlas New York.
https://www.thegreatcoursesdaily.com/how-alexander-built-alexandria/

The first modern plans of the city appeared on maps prepared by scholars who took part in the French expedition to Egypt (1798-1801). The maps are considered one of the most significant and precise maps of Alexandria from that period. The scholars prepared three essential maps that are published in the volumes of the *Description de l'Égypte*.[46] Currently, the historical volumes of the *Description de L'Égypte* are displayed in Fine Arts Museum in Alexandria and were digitized following restoration work conducted by the Alexandria Library restoration lab.[47] Although the original layers of Alexandria are buried beneath two millennia of urban

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[46] "Maps and plans of Alexandria," BNF shared heritage, accessed 27 January 2020.
https://heritage.bnf.fr/bibliothequesorient/en/maps-and-plans-alexandria
[47] "Description de l'Egypte," Projects & Activities, Bibliotheca Alexandria, accessed 27 January 2020.
https://www.bibalex.org/en/project/details?documentid=235&keywords=

evolution, some traces from the ancient Egyptian and Ptolemaic period are still visible and integrated into the city scene together with contemporary and modern architecture. Among the most prominent of Alexandria's transformations took place during the Renaissance architectural era during the reign of Muhammad Ali (1805-1848). The downtown zone was designed to accommodate different architectural styles that representing the vision of the cosmopolitan community who inhabited the city at any given time. (Figure 6)

Figure 6 Mohamed Ali Statue in Manshya Square, Alexandria early 1920s. Modern Egypt Archive..

The modernization plans of Mohamed Ali for the city included the establishment of consulates, churches, and tourist facilities offering accommodation to foreign delegations and diplomats. Furthermore, Mohammed Ali established many national projects intended to revive the economy of Alexandria, for instance, the plan to dig Al-Mahmudiya Canal to create a link

between the lake and the Mediterranean Sea to supply the city with fresh water.[48](Figure 7).

As well as constructing the Western Port in Alexandria as the main port of Egypt, he placed a

modern lighthouse at its entrance.[49]

Figure 7 Al-Mahmudiya Canal in the early 1920s Modern Egypt Archive.

Moreover, the first railway line in Africa was established in 1856 to link between the city of

Alexandria and the capital city, Cairo. The construction of the track played a major role in

boosting Alexandria's industrial activity that encouraging the urban expansion of the city.[50]

Between the years 1863 and 1879, Khedive Ismail took special care of Alexandria urban

planning and assigned architects to polish and design the city center. The central city's squares

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[48] Mahmoudya Canal project delivers the waters of the Nile to Alexandria through Beheira Governorate. The digging took place between 1817 and 1820. The canal was named after the Sultan Mahmoud II, The Sultan of Istanbul, as Egypt back then.

[49] Mansel, Philip. "Muhammad Ali: The Man Who Remade Alexandria." History Today. Accessed January 27, 2020. https://www.historytoday.com/archive/muhammad-ali-man-who-remade-alexandria.

[50] Dix, Gerald B. "Alexandria 2005: Planning for the Future of an Historic City." Ekistics 53, no. 318/319 (1986): 177-86. Accessed January 27, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/43621977.

were decorated with gardens and statues, and the streets were illuminated with gas lights. Ismail also established a governmental entity to manage the city streets and carry out cleaning, health, and maintenance work. Most significantly, Ismail's renovation plan included the placement of a network for sewage and rainwater drainage.[51]

Furthermore, the events of the First World War (1914-1918) also reached Egypt. The country was under martial law until the end of the war. Meanwhile, the whole nation was oppressed by the forces of occupation who exhausted Egyptian resources. With the eruption of World War II (1939-1945), Alexandria became the primary base for the British fleet in the Mediterranean Sea. Also, the Alexandria-Matrouh railway became one of the essential military supply lines.[52] However, Alexandria was a target of air raids by the Italians and Germans, and much damage was inflicted on the infrastructure and city's structures of the city.

The socialist republic regime that was established after the monarchy system paid more attention to reconstructing the city and reviving its economy. The nationalist, the post-colonial regime, introduced new architecture, reflecting its view on modernity. Thus, the projects that President Nasser (1954-1970) adopted prioritized modernization and industrialization, including housing units and infrastructure projects.[53] As a result of the economic reforms in Nasser's agenda, the economy in Alexandria was boosted by the construction of national factories and supporting new production lines. (Figure 8 Nasser lays the foundation stone for the chemical industry factory, Alexandria, 1959. Modern Egypt Archive.)

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[51] "Alexandria during the Ottoman period," Alexandria governorate official website, accessed 27 January 2020. http://www.alexandria.gov.eg/services/tourism/alexandria-history/ottomans.html
[52] "Alexandria during the world wars," Alexandria governorate official website, accessed 27 January 2020. http://www.alexandria.gov.eg/services/tourism/alexandria-history/world-wars.html
[53] Said, Lama "Heritage and nationalism in Nasser's Egypt: The case of Belle Époque Alexandria" (Masters diss., The University of Edinburgh, 2016), 38-41.

Notably, the market of petroleum productions and cotton industries was renewed, and Alexandria was ranked first in the textile industry between the years 1958 and 1966. In that manner, the number of industrial workers in Alexandria was double the industrial workers in the capital, relative to the number of the local occupations. Further, the trade market was boosted in the city after the

reconstruction of the port of Alexandria, damaged by air raids following the Suez crisis.[54]

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[54] Alexandria Rotary International, "الإسكندرية قديماً وحديثاً" [Alexandria, past and modern], (Alexandria Rotary), 10-15.

Figure 8 Nasser lays the foundation stone for the chemical industry factory, Alexandria, 1959. Modern Egypt Archive.

During the British occupation of Egypt starting in 1882, the privileges which foreigners enjoyed in Egypt contributed to the creation of a wave of immigration to Egypt for business and investment. It seems that the foreign presence in Alexandria came with advantages in the area of knowledge promotion and industrial arts, which ultimately provided a source of wealth and commodities.[55] The population of the European communities in the city of Alexandria, estimated for the year 1878, was nearly forty-three thousand, and more than half of these were from the Greek community. The international communities also established their own judicial system with the foundation of the Mixed Courts of Egypt that came about as a result of a conference with the United States with foreign privileges held in Alexandria in 1869.[56] In that context, the Italian community had strong ties in Alexandria as King Farouk I, invited the King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel III, to reside in Alexandria when he abdicated the throne following

[55] Reimer, Michael J. "Colonial Bridgehead: Government And Society In Alexandria, 1807-1882." (New York: Routledge, 2019).

[56] Abdel Qader, Nashwa "الجالية الفرنسية فى مصر 1929م-1949م"] The French community in Egypt 1929-1949],("Colonial Bridgehead: Government And Society In Alexandria, 1807-1882 (Mahrousa publishing, 2016),35-31.

Italy's defeat in World War II. Emmanuel III lived in Alexandria until he died in December 1947 (Figure 9)[57][58]

However, the abolishment of the extraterritorial legal system for foreigners in Egypt in 1937 had a negative impact on foreign affairs in Egypt.[59][60] Moreover, the eruption of the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1949 and the rise of nationalism threatened foreigners' presence in Egypt. Especially after the Suez crisis that took place as a response to Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal. The city suffered air raids targeting the Egyptian fleet. Nonetheless, Alexandria urban planning was developed during Nasser's era; for example, old neighborhoods were re-planned and

Figure 9 King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel III visit to Alexandria, 1933. Modern Egypt Archive.

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[57] One of the main squares in Alexandria in Smoha neighborhood is still named after him.

[58] Shabaan, Mohamed "ساندوا المصريين ضد الإنكليز وشكّلوا تنظيمات فاشية... الجالية الإيطالية في مصر" [They supported the Egyptians against the British formed fascist organizations ... the Italian community in Egypt] Raseef 22, January 11, 2019, https://raseef22.com/article/17....

[59] The Montreux Convention Regarding the Abolition of the Capitulations in Egypt (May 8, 1937) an international convention concluded on which led to the abolition of the extraterritorial legal system for foreigners in Egypt. It was signed by the government of Egypt, the United States of America, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Spain, France, Greece, Italy, Ethiopia, Norway, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Sweden.

[60] Anan, Emad and Hafsa Goda, "اليونانيون في مصر.. قصة جالية أحبت المصريين فأحبوها" [The Greeks in Egypt ... a community story that loved the Egyptians and loved them] Raseef 22, December 24, 2018, https://www.noonpost.com/content/25970.

enhanced. A free trade zone and renovation of Alexandria Arsenal was also established at that time.

The downtown area, especially Fouad Street, is considered one of the old districts in Alexandria. The street was built based on the original design of the Greek City. It featured in the *Alexandria Quartet*, written by the English novelist Lawrence Durrell.[61] The influence of Italian architects is visible in some buildings in the Mansheya area and Raml Station and even in the design of some mosques, such as the Al-Marsa Abu Al-Abbas Mosque, one of the most famous tourist attractions in Alexandria. The street also includes the house of the Greek poet Constantine P. Cavafy, which was later transformed into a museum. The diplomatic club, "Mohammed Ali Club," opened on the street in 1888. A famous historical incident took place in the club when Prince Ahmed Seif El-Din shot Prince Ahmed Fouad (the crown prince of Egypt) because of a conflict between him and his wife, Shwekar Hanem.

2.3 Documenting the city urban heritage

Prior to the issuance of the Architectural Heritage Law, the heritage conservation legal system favored ancient antiquities than more modern historic architectural heritage. Meanwhile, the regulation of architecturally important heritage buildings intersected indirectly with planning and construction laws. Local authorities established their measures for the conservation and documentation of the heritage within the governorate. To elaborate, the national law which regulates building demolition, *Law No. 178, enacted in 1961,* gave local authorities the power to decide on requests to demolish or construct buildings.[62] The law's

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[61] *The Alexandria Quartet* is a collection of four novels written by the British writer Lawrence Durrell, published between 1957 and 1960. The novels introduced social class conflicts between its protagonists from Alexandria before and during the Second World War.
[62] "Al-Waqa'i' Al-Misriyya,", Decision of the President of the United Arab Republic, Gamal Abdel Naser, with Law No. 178 enacted in 1961 regulating building demolition, edition 265, issued on November 18, 1961.

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explanatory memorandum explained that the purpose of regulating the supervision of building demolitions was to ensure the achievement of the state's housing policy to prevent the abuse of the right of demolition and to counter exploitation.[63] While the construction and demolition laws were being developed, the legislation expanded the role of local authorities to control the management of the city's landscape.

2.3.1 Surveying Alexandria Heritage

In the case of Alexandria, the former Governor of Alexandria, Al-Said Ismail Al-Gosqy (1986-1996), issued an official decision that aimed to ensure the conservation of the sites and the landscape of the street. [64] The decision introduced new measures and requirements for construction and demolition on historical, touristic, and archeological sites. Furthermore, Al-Gosqy's decision came with measures aiming to satisfy the owners of buildings that fell under these criteria, for example, the decision exempted the owners of buildings in these areas from some fees and taxes as a contribution from the addressed the issue of utilization and reuse of heritage buildings, stressing the need to study the possibilities for transforming some heritage buildings into museums and exhibitions and promote this transformation as part of the city's heritage.

At the same time, the cabinet pushed for the establishment of a legal regulation prohibiting the demolition of villas and palaces at a national level regardless of their value. In 1996, the former Prime Minister, Kamal Al-Ganzour, issued a declaration that placed restrictions on constructing new floors on buildings in Cairo and Alexandria. The decree included an article that prohibited the demolition of villas and places in both cities. The rule was implemented on a national level following another decree of the prime minister that established penalties for

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[63] Issued by the Minister of Housing.
[64] "Al-Waqa'a Al-Masria", Alexandria governor's decree No. 288 enacted in 1992. edition No. 179, issued August 9, 1992.

violating this regulation. Meanwhile, the cabinet conducted consultations with the governors and decided to create a primary listing for heritage in each governorate. The standards that define what heritage is are not mentioned here since it was held in internal records and communications of the cabinet.

Accordingly, a list was prepared by the Alexandria Preservation Trust (APT) in coordination with the Alexandria and Mediterranean Research Center (ALEXMED) at the Alexandria Biblioteque. [65][66] The list included 1612 heritage buildings and marked 92 compounds as architecturally protected sites. In 1999 Alexandria governor Al-Gosqy approved the list and provided a legal cover for the protection of the buildings on the list.[67] The list was distributed at the local council and offices in Alexandria to instruct its offices in the districts not to permit the demolition of palaces and villas that were included in the list.

Years later, the case of Kato's villa showed the problems with the primary listing when the inheritors of Kato's villa in Alexandria challenged the Montaza's district office decision before Alexandria Administrative court because they were not permitted to demolish the villa.[68] The district office based their decision on a report stating that the villa was characterized by architectural features that had to be preserved, in line with the Prime Minister's decree. After review, the Administrative Court judges decided to revoke the appealed decision and referred the issue to the Supreme Constitutional Court to decide on the constitutionality of the decree. The Court questioned the legitimacy of the decree for assaulting personal property rights, stressed in the Constitution.

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[65] A private non-profit organization, founded by Dr. Mohamed Awad in 1985, aims at promoting awareness and preservation of Alexandria's cultural heritage. http://awad-associates.com/apt.html
[66] Research center at Alexandria Library aims to document the tangible and intangible heritage of Alexandria and the Mediterranean. For more information: https://www.bibalex.org/alexmed/
[67] "Al-Waqa'a Al-Masria" "Volume one," Prime minister decision No 278 for the year 2008, edition No. 5 issued January 31, 2008.
[68] Case No 220 for the year 54 Judiciary, Alexandria Administrative Court. (1997)

The Supreme Constitutional Court issued its verdict on January 15, 2006, declaring the unconstitutionality of the following: Firstly, the Prime Minister decree No. 3086 (1996) was issued by an incompetent authority in violation of the provision of Article (144) of the Constitution. [69] Secondly, Prime Minister decree No. 2 of 1998, including prohibiting demolition or authorization of the destruction of palaces and villas throughout the Republic, was issued under emergency status, which granted the prime minister the authority to take necessary measures to maintain security.[70] However, the court decided that the decree ensured public interest but was not necessarily connected with security; thus, the decision came with measures that fell outside the jurisdiction of the prime Minister. Thirdly, the court revoked other regulations issued by the Minister of Housing and Urban Facilities, including not approving to destroy palaces and villas anywhere in the republic[71]. The court viewed the regulation as a restriction on property rights and was a matter that should be regulated by law.

As a consequence of the court decision, local councils were forced to permit the demolition of heritage buildings. In Alexandria, the ALEXMED list was revoked, and a number of buildings on the list were demolished. In that sense, the ruling created a legal gap in the protection of buildings of architectural value. Thus the parliament adopted Law 144 in the same year.

2.3.2 The Alexandria architectural heritage record

The process of conducting the second survey of Alexandria heritage buildings took place after the issuance of the Architectural Heritage law in 2006. The governor of Alexandria formed two committees in accordance with the law, concerned with the inventory process of Alexandria architectural heritage. The first committee surveyed the heritage buildings within Montazah

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[69] Article 144: The President of the Republic shall issue the necessary regulations for the implementation of the laws in the manner that would not modify, delay, the implementation of the laws in the manner that would not modify, delay, or exempt them from execution. He shall have the right to vest others with authority to issue them. The law may determine whoever issues the decision requisite for its implementation.
[70] Appeal No 74 for the year 23 Judiciary (Constitutional), the Supreme Constitutional Court. (2006)
[71] Article 11 bis (5) of the executive regulations of Law 106 of 1976.

district and the East neighborhood, and the second committee is spatially concerned with the buildings that are located in the areas of central, western Alexandria, including Al-Gomrok, Amiriyah and Borg El Arab.[72]

The committees' work began by reviewing the APT heritage list and created an inventory accordingly. The new inventory excluded 595 buildings from the APT list but also added 118 buildings that had not been previously listed. As for the architectural protected sites, although the law did not oblige the committees to list sites as a whole, the Alexandria heritage committees listed 62 sites to be considered architecturally protected spaces. There was no explanation announced by the listing committees to justify their action and what criteria were used to determine which buildings could be considered heritage while others did not.

The final list was published in the official newspaper on January 31, 2008, by the former prime minister, Ahmed Nazif.[73] Altogether 1135 buildings were registered within the Alexandria governorate as architecturally valuable heritage buildings. Attached to the one-page decree was an official volume about the

Figure 10 Heritage buildings information forms, the external view of the Fenni Building, provided by the Committee of technical trustees.

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[72] Alexandria Governor Decision No. 1110 and 1105 for the year 2006, December 3, 2006.
[73] "Al-Waqa'a Al-Masria", Prime Minister Ahmed Nazif Decree No. 278, January 31, 2008.

surveyed buildings in Alexandria. The volume included work reports and recommendations, detailed information about each building, and maps of all the buildings. Moreover, the Governor of Alexandria established a committee of technical trustees to provide the owners of heritage buildings, professional opinions concerning the maintenance of their buildings and provide technical reports on the buildings when needed. The committee was chaired by Dr. Mohamed Awad, a lecturer at the Faculty of Engineering at Alexandria University, a practicing architect, historian, and founder of APT.[74] There was a cooperative agreement between ALEX MED, APT, and the technical trustee committee to survey the buildings under discussion and create a digital database of the heritage, including a portfolio of each building. (See **Error! Reference source not found.**)

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[74] "Heritage preservation project,", Projects & Activities, Bibliotheca Alexandria website, accessed May 5, 2020. https://www.bibalex.org/en/project/details?documentid=174&keywords=

According to Alexandria heritage records, published as an annex to the official listing decree, the total number of heritage buildings in Alexandria, listed under Law 144 in 2008; 1135 buildings *(*See Figure 11, Figure 12)
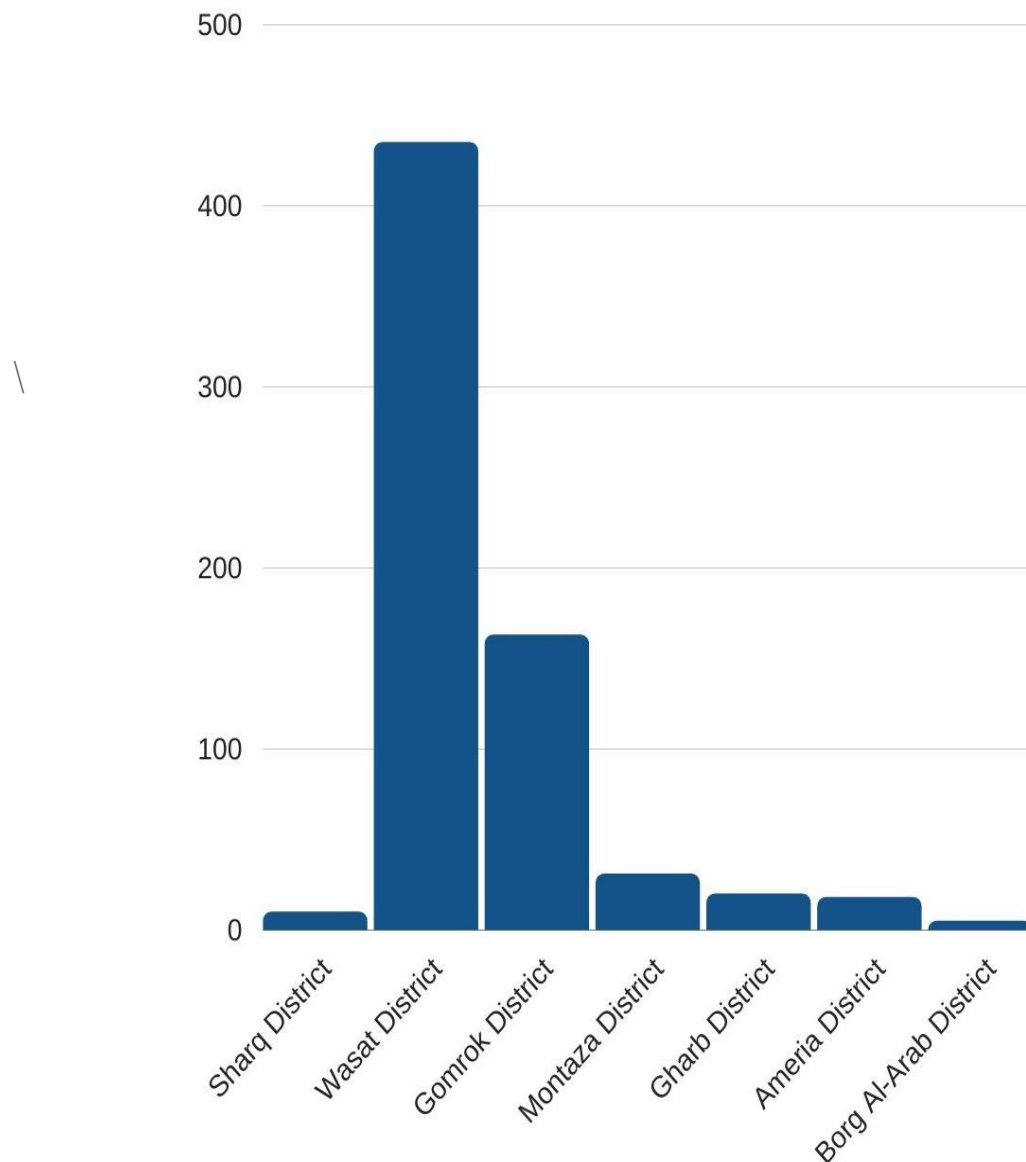
Figure 11 Heritage buildings in Alexandria districts. Source: the researcher

The buildings are classified as follows:

Classification of registration	
Buildings and structures of outstanding architectural style	1109
Buildings and structures that are associated with the national history.	6
Buildings and structures that are associated with historical personality.	10
Buildings and structures represent a historical era	2
Buildings and structures that are considered a tourist attraction.	8
Total number of building in the records	1135
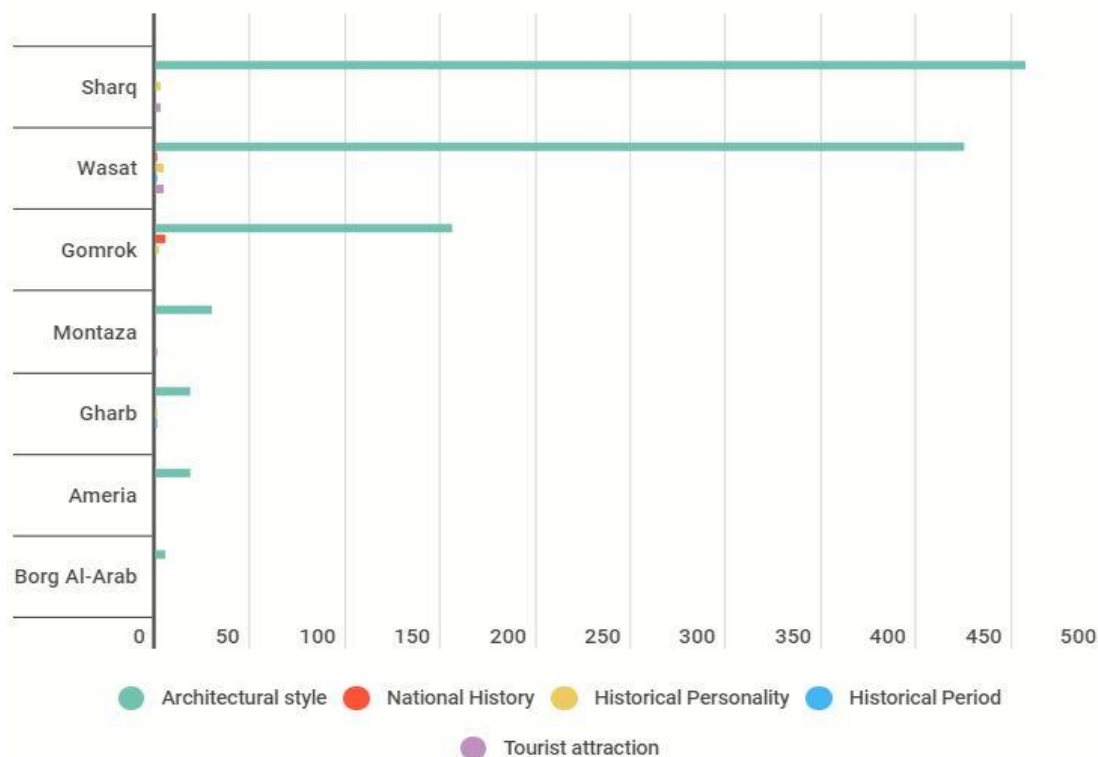
Figure 12 Classification of heritage buildings in Alexandria. Source: the researcher.

2.4 Issues with the listing process

The surveying and listing committees have followed the guidelines explained in Prime Minister Ahmed Nazif's decree. However, the decree was criticized for misleading the listing committees in violation of article two of Law No. 144. Article Two states:

> [It shall be prohibited to authorize demolishing or adding to the buildings and establishments with a peculiar architectural style that are correlated to the country's national history, or a historical figure, or represent a historical epoch, or considered a tourist sight, without derogation from the legally payable compensation...]

It appears that the law required association of the previously mentioned standards with each other as a condition for listing. At the same time, the Prime Minister decree set up criteria for "buildings and structures of outstanding architectural style" as a standard by itself. While comparing the two standards, the Alexandria Court of Administrative pointed out that the Prime Minister exceeded the limits of the legislative mandate granted to him and that he erred in understanding the text of the law. Given the fact that the law has a higher power as a legal document than the regulations and the decisions, the Prime Minister's decision was seen as contradicting and violating the law.

In the case of Alexandria, the Alexandria listing committee classified 1109 out of 1135 buildings under the criteria of "buildings and structures of outstanding architectural style" in violation of article two of Law No. 144. In this regard, the Alexandria Administrative Court of Alexandria declared the Prime Minister decree to be illegal and removed the buildings under review from the heritage list of Alexandria. The court was not satisfied with the justification and explained that the building was not associated with significant historical events on a national or international level. The court added that the Prime Minister had exceeded his role by adding a new legal standard for heritage buildings, something that should be stated in the law.

The most relevant criticisms towards the listing process can be explained by searching the Administrative Court's reasons for removing the building from the heritage list:

Devising a new classification standard

Aboud Basha Villa in Alexandria was removed from the heritage list by a court order.[75] The court justification for the verdict was justified by the examination of the relevant committee volume. Apparently, the registration of the building violated the criteria mentioned on the heritage law (Buildings and structures of outstanding architectural style). The court also added that the committee should associate the building with one of four criteria in accordance with the law. The villa is associated with a historical character, "Aboud Pasha, " who was one of the pillars of the economy in Egypt in the twentieth century. [76] His other villa in Cairo was transformed into a museum. However, the committee did not note the villa's association with a historical character (Aboud Pasha) in the volume. For that reason, the court decided to remove the building from the heritage list and gave the owner the right to demolish it. Eventually, the villa was demolished in May 2015. (see Figure 13).[77]

Figure 13 Aboud Pasha villa before and after. Save Alex page.

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[75] "Al-Waqa'a Al-Masria", Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Communities Ibrahim Mehleb Decree No. 577, December 14, 2013.

[76] Aboud Pasha was one of the largest shareholders of Banque Misr and obtained a seat on its board of directors in 1950. He became the first Egyptian director of the Suez Canal Company, which was then owned by foreigners.

[77] Marwa Morsi, Ahmed Ragab. "رئيس حي شرق يأمر بوقف هدم فيلا "عبود"" [The head of Sharq neighborhood orders the cessation of ….]. Elwatan News, May 3, 2015. https://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/722319

Defining the historical personality

Another example, Teqla villa in Alexandria, was removed from the heritage list. The building was registered on the heritage list under the third criteria "Buildings and structures that are associated with a historical personality." The historical characters referred to are Beshara and Salim Teqla, the founders of the Al-Ahram institution. The current owner of the building filed a case before the Administrative Court to have his property removed from the list. Although the building's registration falls under a proper registry of being associated with a historical character "Beshara and Salim Teqla," the court still decided to remove it from the list on the grounds of not specifying the name of the "historical character" in the volume.[78]

Defining the historical period

The Supreme Administrative Court issued a verdict to remove a villa in Zenzenia, Alexandria, from the heritage list. The villa was included in the heritage list under the fourth criteria of the implementing regulation. "Buildings and structures are representing a historical era." The court requested the Alexandria listing committee to justify the registration of the building. Although the committee experts confirmed that the villa is distinguished by its Mediterranean architectural style and sets an example of the architectural style prevalent during the fifties, a style which became rare in the city, the court decided to remove the villa from the list.

In that regard, I would like to explain that one of the most significant issues in the file of heritage preservation is the lack of information. Even though the listing committees researched the value of the building in the process of surveying it, the information was never publically published. This deficiency has seriously impaired the ability of the researchers and artists to document heritage or to understand the value behind heritage buildings.

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[78] Case No. 3484 year 63 Judiciary, Alexandria Administrative Court, March 31, 2013.

Chapter III   Heritage activism in Alexandria

After the eruption of the January 25 revolution in 2011, Egypt saw a growing presence of heritage rights groups. The political opportunity allowed rights groups to organize and allowing local communities to become involved in decision-making processes. Alexandria was one of the first cities to witness the establishment of a movement that calls for the conservation of its heritage, 'Save Alex,' established in 2012 by a group of academics and heritage activists to act as a task force for the protection of heritage buildings. Through campaigning and mobilization, the initiative aims to heighten local community awareness of the importance of heritage preservation and emphasizes the citizen's right to be involved in urban planning.

In the following, I will examine the experience of 'Save Alex' through three phases; 1) The initial phase, which took place after the demolition of the Governor's headquarters in Alexandria. 2) Emerging alternatives for the re-use of the land, and 3) The lobbying phase for protecting Aghion villa. At the end of this chapter, I will elaborate and analyze the movement's approaches and tools in the context of the way these were implemented. Based on the notices and the interviews, I drafted a preliminary SWOT analysis (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats), allowing future improvements to be implemented in the following stages. I rely primarily on two interviews; one with the architect, Ahmed Hassan, the founder of 'Save Alex' and the other with the lawyer, Mohamed A. Awaad, a human rights lawyer at the Egyptian Center for Economic and Social Rights.[79][80] I consider statements, petitions, and related research that was provided by Hassan and published on 'Save Alex's online platforms.

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[79] Interview (Semi-structured) with Architect Ahmed Hassan, (Phone interview) May 28, 2020.
[80] Interview with Lawyer Mohamed Awaad (Semi-structured) July 28, 2018, Alexandria.

3.1 The initiation phase | - Kick into action

The initiative began in early 2012, with the demolition of Governorate Headquarters in Alexandria as background. The building was knocked down after being damaged by fire as unknown individuals had raided and set fire to the building during the events of January 28, 2011.[81] The only structure left standing was the facade that included the still standing coat of arms, the symbol of Alexandria. Soon after, the Governorate removed the facade and prepared the site for the reconstruction of the building (Figure 14).

Figure 14 The Governorate Headquarters, Alexandria, January 28, 2011. Source: The walls of Alex blog. Photography by Abdallah Dawstashi.

Building the narrative

The Governorate Headquarter building was located in one of the oldest streets of Alexandria, "Fouad Street," in the city center. It was constructed during the monarchy era in the nineteen-

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[81] In the early days of the revolution, people called for a protest before the Governorate Building. The police used excessive force against the protestors, and clashes occurred between both parties that resulted in the torching of the building.

century. Before 1952, the Two-Floors Villa was utilized by Alexandria Municipal Council for the public to handle administrative issues for the residents of Alexandria. The building included the Municipal Library of Alexandria, which contained a collection of rare manuscripts and books. After the change of regime, the new government maintained its function and initiated a new design and an alteration plan.[82] The aim was to harmonize the building style with socialist realism. First, they added an upper floor. They made the building compatible with the new design, and secondly, they altered the interior design of the rooms and covered the walls with wooden plates.[83] The building facade included a carved sculpture of the emblem of the ancient city of Alexandria. The sculpture pictures the goddess Isis on the front of a ship holding a papyrus. Behind her stands an illustration of the old Lighthouse of Alexandria. (see Figure 15).

Figure 15 Alexandria Municipal House, 1957. Source: the walls of Alex blog.

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[82] The plan was initiated during the presidency of Mohammed Naguib at the beginning of 1954 and executed in 1957 while President Nasser was in power.

[83] El-Dosoqy, Mohamed A. "مبنى محافظة الإسكندرية: بداية ونهاية" [Alexandria Governorate building: beginning and end]. The Walls of Alex (blog). March 22, 2012. Accessed May 12, 2020. http://thewallsofalex.blogspot.com/2012/03/blog-post_21.html

In 1960, the Local Administration Law was issued, and the "Municipality of Alexandria" soon became "Alexandria Governorate." It was decided that the building would accommodate the Governorate Headquarters and serve the public by housing offices for the issuance of administrative documents. From 1952 until 2011, more than 16 governors were accommodated in the office on the upper floor. The last Governor to sit in the office of the historical building was Adel Labib (2006-2011). Moreover, the meeting rooms, the Governor's office, and the halls included artwork by prominent Alexandrian artists such as Seif Wanly, Hussein Bicar, and Mohamed Nagy. Unfortunately, all the artwork and antiques were looted and damaged during the events of January 28, 2011.

Figure 16 Looting and destruction inside the Governor office, January 28, 2012. Source: Soutalex

The news of the torching of the building shocked the cultural community in Alexandria. Dr. Mohamed Awad, Head of the Committee of Technical Trustees, described the incident as a "holocaust for artistic heritage." [84] The Alexandrian conceptual artist, Esmat Doustashi, considered the event a catastrophe and added that "The building included a number of paintings

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[84] Amer, Mohamed. "نيران الغضب" تركت الإسكندرية بلا ديوان منذ 6 سنوات" [Fire of Anger 'Left Alexandria without an Office 6 Years Ago]. Masrawy News, October 9, 2016. https://www.masrawy.com/news/news_regions/detail....

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that were important milestones in the history of modern Egyptian art, such as the painting "School of Alexandria" that was drawn by the prominent artist Mohamed Nagy (1888 - 1956). Doustashi added to his statement that the Governor's office bought the painting, but "it is unfortunate that it was torched by the thugs who raided the building" (see Figure 16).

As the building accommodated different political regimes, it became a symbolic representation of power and unfairness. This suggests that the Governorate Headquarters building historical value was overwhelmed by its narrative, which resulted in its demolition. Eventually, the demolition of the building marked the end of a significant chapter in Alexandria's history and paved the way for architects and heritage enthusiasts to open a community discussion on the utilization of the now-empty land.

Against the reconstruction of the Governor's building

After the Governor's building was pulled down in early 2011, the Governorate announced plans to rebuild the Governorate Headquarters building on the same spot. Accordingly, the local council placed a banner at the construction site stating that the Armed Forces Engineering Authority would be in charge of the construction of the Governorate Building. This act caught the public's attention, especially after a statement was issued by one of the government officials stating that the motivation behind this choice was regaining the country's prestige after the revolution. (Figure 17)[85]

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[85] In reference to a post on social media by one of his colleagues criticizing the comment of one of the Major Generals in the military concerning the rebuilding of the government headquarters. The discussion took place in a seminar held by Alexandria Library concerning "the repercussions of after the revolution in Alexandria". It is important that the military took over the administration of Alexandria during that time.

Figure 17 The empty space left after the Governorate headquarters were pulled down and cleared away. Photo by Mohamed Adel Dessouki, March 12, 2012.

The architect. Ahmed Hassan, one of the founders of 'Save Alex,' explained that a group of architects and their students decided to address the issue for two reasons: One, making decisions that may harm urban harmony should not be based on political display; Two, the community and specialists should be included in decision making". Hassan added, "we were aware of the fact that different stakeholders will hold alternative re-use options; thus, the group decided to advocate against the reconstruction of the building and leave the re-use options for the community for discussion." In a flyer produced by 'Save Alex', the group explains the reasons why they disapprove of the rebuilding of the Governor's office as follows:

1- <u>Traffic:</u> The building is in the city center on a busy street that accommodates administrative bodies, schools, cultural and shopping centers. Additionally, the building serves a large number

of citizens daily, creating heavy traffic and impact negatively on hundreds of employees and thousands of citizens.

2- <u>Its location next to the Graeco-Roman Museum</u>: The land can be used as an open space where people can use outside of the museum to rest and take part in cultural activities.

3- <u>Potential archaeological site</u>: According to archeologists, the land potentially contains antiquities and should be excavated. The findings and research will bring to light discoveries that contribute to the country's great history, and that will attract the attention of tourists'.

Figure 18 Stop destroying Alexandria protest, Photo by Mohamed Adel Dessouki, April 27, 2012.

The group decided to organize its first protest before the empty parcel of land on April 27, 2012. The event was established on Facebook by the architect Ahmed Hassan, demanding the construction stop, an archaeological survey be conducted on the land and reconsideration given as to the optimal use of the land. In conjunction with the organization of the demonstration, the event launched an online petition to collect signatures of citizens to send to the Governor's office with those requests. [86] After the protest end, Hassan wrote on Facebook, "The number

[86] "أوقفوا تدمير الاسكندرية" [Stop destroying Alexandria]," A call for a protest before the Governor Headquarter". Facebook. April 27, 2020. https://www.facebook.com/events/405612079462959/.

of the protest's attendees exceeded one hundred and the petition signatures are over a thousand… tomorrow we will go to meet the Governor."[87] (see Figure 18*).

3.2 Emerging alternatives for re-use

The architects' initiative attracted the attention of Alexandrian citizens who saw banners in the street calling for the protection of their heritage for the first time, as well as the attention of individuals and activists who have interests in protecting urban culture in Alexandria. Meanwhile, other individuals and activists were mobilizing for the conservation of the Greek Club building as the owner of this historic building had initiated plans to pull it down. Both groups and others agreed to call for a joint meeting to brainstorm concerning the demolition of heritage buildings. [88] El-Sandra cultural center hosted the meetings of the group as the founders were active members of civil society and human rights groups. The groups cooperated under the slogan "We will not allow the demolition of Alexandria" and created a page on Facebook that addressed Alexandrian youth and mobilization for the cause.

The Facebook page of the newly formed coalition called and mobilized for a protest before the Greek Club building, stressing the importance of reclaiming heritage for the people. [89] In a meeting that took place on April 28, 2012, the group agreed to establish a social movement under the name of 'Save Alex' with the aim of mobilizing to protect heritage buildings in Alexandria governorate. [90] Unifying the efforts of its members who came from different professional backgrounds and diverse ideologies, expanded the movement's ability to approach

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[87] "Ahmed Hassan" (facebook post), "The number of the protest's attendees exceeded." Facebook, April 27, 2012, https://www.facebook.com/events/405612079462959/permalink/409609745729859/?ref=1&action_history=null

[88] "مش هنسيب إسكندرية تتهد" (@MshHnsybAskndrytTnhd), "Hay everyone, today a meeting at 6:00 PM at El-Sandra," Facebook, April 22, 2012, https://www.facebook.com/MshHnsybAskndrytTnhd/posts/342568025797235.

[89] "مش هنسيب إسكندرية تتهد" (@MshHnsybAskndrytTnhd), "Today we discussed a long plan to save the heritage starting with a protest tomorrow before the Greek-Club building," Facebook, April 22, 2012, https://www.facebook.com/MshHnsybAskndrytTnhd/posts/342794219107949.

[90] "مش هنسيب إسكندرية تتهد" (@MshHnsybAskndrytTnhd), "Yesterday we agreed to establish a broader campaign for the protection of heritage by establishing SAVE ALEX," Facebook, April 29, 2012, https://www.facebook.com/MshHnsybAskndrytTnhd/posts/366114630102690.

the case from many angles and adapt its tools based on the circumstances and the target audience.

In the case of the Governor building, the campaign that 'Save Alex' launched resonated with a large group of people and reached the stakeholders. The Engineers Syndicate in Alexandria has taken an interest in the issue; the head of the syndicate called for a meeting with Governor Osama El-Folly to share their concerns on the governorate plan to rebuild the building. [91] In that regard, Hassan expressed the opinion that the Syndicate attitude was criticized back then for inviting only the "elites" of architects and engineers to attend the meeting and discarded the groups who were mobilizing for the issue. A number of founders of 'Save Alex,' who were members of the syndicate, pushed to attend the meeting and present their views on the re-use plans. 'Save Alex' saw the meeting as an opportunity to bring up issues related to illegal constructions in Alexandria. Even though the attendees of the meeting had a different agenda, they all agreed that the new governor building should be moved to a different location. Hassan added that "Despite our reservations on how the situation was handled, we evaluate the experience as successful."

Soon after, it appeared that the Governorate discarded the plans and constructed the governor's office in another location. The empty land was used as a parking spot by the residents. In 2015, the Ministry of Antiquities signed a memorandum of understanding with the Governorate of Alexandria to connect the Governorate land to the Graeco-Roman Museum. The protocol not only granted the museum the right to use the land but also stipulated the start of implementing a rehabilitation project for the museum, start by preparing a detailed study by the Ministry of Antiquities to develop a comprehensive concept for transforming the museum into an integrated museum center. The plan included the establishment of restoration and maintenance

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[91] The Governor of Alexandria between 2011-2012.

laboratories, exhibition halls, a museum and heritage library, and an educational center[92]. The Protocol came after years of negotiation between the museum and the Governorate. The Governor, Osama El-Folly, insisted on rebuilding on the same spot while the museum was pushing the Ministry of Antiquities to claim the land and declare it an archaeological site.[93]

3.3 Lobbying phase

The movement took the same Governor building case approach to urgently mobilize for the protection of other heritage buildings in Alexandria and work to build trust and credibility with its target audience. One of the most interesting cases concerned the demolition of the Aghion Villa. The political atmosphere in the demolition process had shifted due to changes in the political regime in Egypt. This new regime adopted oppressive measures and limited the work of the civil society. The movement had to adapt to the situation and change its mobilization tools to survive.

Figure 19 Aghion Villa in the 1920s View of the rotunda on the garden, Photo: Archives IFA.

Figure 20 Aghion Villa in Alexandria. Photo by Mohamed Abu Al-khir.

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[92] Mansour Ahmed, "تعرف على القصة الكاملة للمتحف اليونانى الرومانى قبل بدء تنفيذ سينايو العرض" [Learn the full story of the Greco-Roman Museum before..].Youm 7 Media. August 22, 2019. https://www.youm7.com/story/2019/8/22/%D8%A....9e

[93] Al-Saatty, Hoda "دعوة إلى حملة دولية لوقف إعادة بناء محافظة الإسكندرية" [Call for an international campaign to stop rebuilding Alexandria Governorate]. Shorouk News. May 16, 2013. https://www.shorouknews.com/news/view.aspx?cdate=16052013&id=1ceb0835-222b-4cab-88bc-c64a07266b31

Meanwhile, 'Save Alex' was facing a challenge with the Aghion villa, as the owner of Aghion villa was seeking all available means to demolish the villa despite its listing on the heritage list. The villa was constructed in 1926 by a wealthy Italian architect, Gustave Aghion, as a private residence for him in Alexandria. Aghion came from a Jewish family who settled in Alexandria before he was born in 1881. The family made its wealth from the cotton industry and owned large estates as well as other major enterprises. Gustave purchased the empty land from a foreign proprietor through the so-called mixed court and entrusted Auguste Perret, one of the most important French architects of the twentieth century, to design the building[94][95](Figure 20,20) Figure 19

The villa is the first of several buildings designed by the Perret brothers in Alexandria and Cairo between 1927 and 1938. The villa is located in Wabour El-Maya, one of the wealthiest and most sophisticated neighborhoods in nineteenth-century Alexandria. The villa is famous for its Palladian style that was imported to Egypt in the second half of the nineteenth century and for being the first Egyptian residential building to use exposed reinforced concrete. [96] The villa is considered an example of modernist architecture that reflects the image of Alexandria's society and its architectural culture (*Figure 21*)
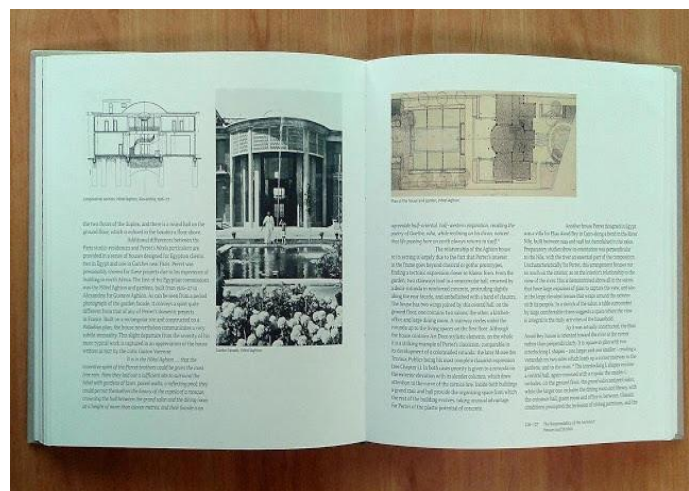
Figure 21 Villa Aghion in August Perret's book, Photo: The walls of Alex blog.

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[94] Known for designing the Théatre des Champs-Élysées, the first Art Deco building in Paris and the Church of Notre-Dame du Raincy (1922–23). He also reestablished the center of the port city of Le Havre, including St. Joseph's Church, Le Havre. to replace buildings destroyed by bombing during World War II. His designed buildings were included in the World Heritage List.

[95] Abusaada, Hisham & Vellguth, Carsten & Elshater, Abeer. (2019). Handbook of research on digital research methods and architectural tools in urban planning and design. 324-328.

[96] El-Habashi, Alaa Elwi "The Buildings of Auguste Perret in Alexandria: A Case for Preservation of Modern Egyptian Architecture: Historic Preservation Defined" (MS diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1994), 46–51.

In 2008, the villa was registered as number 631 on the national heritage list. The current owner of the villa appealed before the Grievance Committee against the decision of the prime minister to list the villa.[97] The appeal was rejected by the commission, and a recommendation was issued to the Governor's office to restore the architectural elements of the building.[98] However, that did not stop the owner from illegally attempting to partially demolish the villa, according to a report produced by 'Save Alex.' A legal memo was issued against the owner for obstructing the law by illegally sabotaging of the villa facade in August 2009. As the Head of the Committee of Technical Trustees in Alexandria, Mohamed Awad reached out to the Governor of Alexandria to report the incident and request his intercession to save the Aghion villa (see Figure 22).

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[97] "Al-Waqa'a Al-Masria". Prime Minister Ahmed Nazif Decree No. 278, edition 5(a), January 31, 2008.
[98] "Complaints Database," National Organization for urban harmony, accessed May 1, 2020, http://www.urbanharmony.org/complain_details.asp?id=4102.

Nine months later, the former Minister of Culture, Farouk Hosny, informed the Governor of Alexandria with the Prime Minister's approval to expropriate the villa in favor of the ministry for the establishment of a cultural center. The minister asked the governor to present the issue to the local council for a decision. Meanwhile, the owner filed a case before the Alexandria Administrative Court demanding the removal of his villa from the national heritage list. Even though the Local Council of Alexandria approved the procedures of the disposition of the villa in July 2011, it appears that the bureaucratic environment halted an official issuance of a decision until it was too late. Unfortunately, the court accepted his request and ruled in his favor. In 2013, the Minister of Housing issued an official decree permitting removal of the

Figure 22 Aghion villa after the façade was damaged, August 2009. 'Save Alex' page.

Aghion Villa from the list, based on the court ruling.[99]

Mobilization to save Aghion

In early 2012, news circulated during the legal battle for its removal from the heritage list that the owners of Aghion intended to demolish the villa. In response, 'Save Alex' launched an urgent campaign to safeguard the villa, calling for a protest on June 11, 2012. Members of the Engineer Syndicate announced their participation in the protest, including the Head of the Syndicate, back then, Dr. Ali Barakat.[100] Also, other civil movements and active members from the local community joined the call with 'Save Alex' and mobilized for the protest.[101] The echos from the demonstration reached the local council, which motivated the head of Wasat

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[99] Al Satty Hoda, "أجيون» فيلا لإنقاذ عامًا 14 الـ معركة تستعرض الإسكندرية محافظة»" [Alexandria Governorate is reviewing the 14-year battle to save "Ajion" villa.] Shorouk News, February 08, 2014. https://www.shorouknews.com/news/view.aspx?cdate=08022014&id=6da99040-b39c-420a-9ff0-041ce9cd1ba0

[100] AlexNewsAgency, "أجيون فيلا هدم ضد احتجاجية وقفة في يشارك بركات علي.د"] Dr. Ali Barakt at a protest against the demolition of Aghion Villa,] Alex News Agency Channel, June 11, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Qer5bFdjM8.

[101] El-Dosoqy, Mohamed A. "اجيون فيلا أمام وقفتنا" [Our protest before Aghion villa]. The Walls of Alex (blog). June 11, 2012. Accessed May 12, 2020. http://thewallsofalex.blogspot.com/2012/03/blog-post_21.html

district to join the protest and promise to take the necessary measures to ensure the protection of the villa until the issue could be resolved. However, with the issuance of the court ruling, the owner sought the issuance of demolition permissions from the local council. (Figure 23)

Figure 23 'Save Alex' protest, before Aghion villa, June 11, 2012, Alexandria. Save Alex page.

On February 5, 2014, construction workers began the process of demolishing the structure; the residents of the neighborhood reported these events and circulated it on social media. 'Save Alex' reached many stakeholders and media, calling for the protection of the villa. The movement drafted a petition and sent a joint statement to the Governor of Alexandria, demanding that he enact the prime minister's decision concerning dispossession of the villa to the state and hold the people responsible to account for the violating the law.[102] The Governor of Alexandria, at that time, Tareq Al-Mahdy (2013-2015), called for a meeting between the involved stakeholders to decide on the issue. At the end of the meeting, Al-Mahdy confirmed in a press conference that the stakeholders agreed to postpone construction plans until further notice (see Figure 24).

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[102] "أنقذوا الاسكندرية" (@Savealexeg), "Urgent // press release from the "Save Alexandria" initiative," Facebook, February 22, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/savealexeg/photos/a.345243352195358/613286418724382/?type=3.

Figure 24 The Governor Tareq Al-Mahdy in front of Aghion villa. Al Youm 7.

The end of Aghion

In spite of the ruling of the governor, the owner continued plans for pulling the building down, 'Save Alex' sent another petition to Prime Minister Hazem El Beblawi, the petition included a proposal for urgent action to safeguard architectural heritage as follows: Firstly, to amend article two of Law No. 144/2006 concerning the listing criteria. The signatories pointed to the importance of understanding the grounds of rulings of the Administrative Court in Alexandria for the removal of heritage buildings from the list; secondly, to halt the demolition of the buildings that were removed from the heritage list until the law was amended; thirdly, to activate the role of the state institutions concerning the management of construction, demolition, and protection of heritage.[103][104]

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[103] Hamouda, Yasmine "مبادرة'' انقذوا الإسكندرية'' تتطالب البيلاوى بتنفيذ قرار نزع ملكية فيلا آجيون" [The "Save Alexandria" initiative calls on El-Belawi to implement the decision to expropriate Villa Aghion.] Al-Nahar Egypt, February 23, 2014. https://www.alnaharegypt.com/188053

[104] "عريضة عن أزمة تراث المدينة العمراني"] Petition concerning the crisis of urban heritage], Save Alex initiative, February 20, 2014.

The issue of the Aghion villa received significant attention from the media, highlighting the aggravated crisis of illegal construction in Alexandria. The International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites, and Neighborhoods of the Modern Movement (DOCOMOMO) stated in a press release in January 2016. "It is with great disillusionment that DOCOMOMOInternational states that Villa Aghion, a residential project by the Auguste brothers (1874-1954) and Gustave Perret (1876-1952) has, in recent days, been completely demolished." [105][106] The statement added that "Part of its demolition started illegally, in 2009, because of indifference by Egyptian law." Ironically, during the process of removing the valuables from the site, antiquities were found, which forces the owner to transfer the management of the site to the Ministry of Antiquities for excavations.[107]

Finally, a decision for the expropriation of the villa was issued by the Minister of Culture in favor of the National Organization for Urban Harmony[108]. Unfortunately, the decision came too late as 90% of the villa had already been demolished.[109] (Figure 25) In that matter, Ahmed Hassan said that "the Aghion case was the beginning of the end for the movement... we exhausted all the tools of mobilization tools, and we achieved a successful outreach with the community, we managed to transmit the issue to the stakeholders involved". Hassan added, "In the end, the villa was demolished despite our efforts."

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[105] International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighborhoods of the Modern Movement, is a nonprofit founded in 1988 by Dutch architects Hubert-Jan Henket and Wessel de Jonge in Eindhoven. Currently the organization is hosted by the Cité de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine in the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, France.

[106] "DOCOMOMO International" (@Docomomointernational), "Urgent // press release from the "Save Alexandria" initiative," Facebook, January 28, 2016. https://www.facebook.com/docomomointernational/posts/455896621269944.

[107] Hashem, Radwa "اكتشاف فرن روماني في موقع أرض "فيلا أجيون" [Discovery of a Roman oven in the site of "Villa Aghion".] El-Watan News, April 13, 2017. https://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/2002437.

[108] Abu Shal, Nabil "مالك فيلا «أجيون» التراثية بالإسكندرية يقرر الهدم رغم قرار مجلس الوزراء" [The owner of the "Aghion Villa in Alexandria" demolishes the villa despite the cabinet's decision] Al-masry ALyoum. December 12, 2016. https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/1052832

[109] Hashem, Radwa and Doaa Abdel Wahab, "بعد إزالة 90% من فيلا "اجيون التراثية" [After deconstructing 90% of Aghion Villa..] Al-Watan News. April 01, 2014. https://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/451300?t=push

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Figure 25 The ruins of the villa. Photo by : Al-Masry Al-Youm

3.4 Litigation for the protection of urban heritage

In the process of campaigning for Aghion, 'Save Alex' sought consultations with legal experts to identify the legal status of Aghion. A meeting was held in December 2014 at the Egyptian Center for Economic and Social Rights (ECESR) office in Alexandria, attended by a number of representatives from different NGOs and movements in Alexandria.[110] As the head of ECESR programs in the Alexandria office, I coordinated the meeting in cooperation with other colleagues from the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIPR).[111] The meeting aimed to network between different actors in heritage preservation and discussed alternative solutions for safeguarding the building. The attendees agreed to organize a series of presentations that introduce each group's strengths and explain the themes and methods of their work.

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[110] More information about ECESR: https://ecesr.org/en/
[111] More information about EIPR: https://eipr.org/en

During the ECESR session, the attendees discussed the possibilities of using litigation for the protection of heritage. However, the possibilities and limitations of our legal interference were unknown. To elaborate; the cases filed before the Alexandria Administrative Court were on behalf of the owner of the heritage site against the prime minister and other representatives of the State in that matter, to reverse the decision taken by the prime minister with regard to the listing of their property on the Alexandria heritage list. In this connection, questions were raised; 1) How can we interfere legally in the process (based on what legal grounds)? - 2) On behalf of whom (the legal capacity and interests)? – 3) What are we hoping to achieve? 4) How can we learn about those cases?

Lawyer Mohamed A. Awaad said, "Our first legal interference was concerned with a decree issued by the prime minister to remove more than 20 buildings from the heritage records of Alexandria including Aghion, we appealed the decision before the Alexandria Administrative Court. Soon after, we were contacted by Dr. Mohamed Awad, the head of the Technical Trustees' committee in Alexandria. The committee received notice from the court concerning the case, and our meeting was the beginning of significant cooperation." During the meeting, Dr. Mohamed Awad explained that the committee recommendation reports sometimes do not reach the court. He also brought to our attention to two other cases under review before the Administrative Court at that time related to the Fenni Building in the downtown area and the Aziza Fahmy Palace in Glim. [112][113] In light of this information, Lawyer Mohamed Awad

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[112] The family of Oswald Finney (1880-1942) was one of the most prestigious English families in Alexandria. The family was popular in the trade of real estate properties, buildings, and the trade of cotton and onions as Oswald was a member of the board of directors of many commercial companies in Egypt. Finney was the head of Alexandria Commercial Company and Alexandria Insurance Company until his death and then his companies were nationalized by the Egyptian government. The building was the headquarter of the company and was designed in the neo-gothic style, that was introduced in Egypt through Fenni's buildings.

[113] The palace is a summer house for the family of Aziza Fahmy in the late 20's or early 30's. Aziza Fahmy belong to the elite society in Egypt as the daughter of a senior architect in the Royal-palace. The palace was constructed in 1905 and designed for by Granato, an Italian architect belonging to the Neo-Renaissance school (Palladian design), which was a revival of classical influencing the whole of Europe.

submitted an official memo to the court stating his legal right to litigate the case on behalf of four Alexandrians residents.[114] The objective of these legal actions was:

- Explore whether the court would accept our legal interference.
- Ensure that the court considers the Technical Trustees' report concerning the heritage value(s) of the building.
- Argue the unconstitutionality of Law 144.

Both cases took their natural courses at the court, and during trials, the lawyer submitted a number of reports and legal memos emphasizing the previously mentioned issues. Lawyer M.A.Awaad said, "We were fortunate to have access to information on the buildings after the committee provided us with the registry. Accordingly, we were able to debate the importance of the buildings before the court and campaign for their safeguarding" Eventually, the court issued its decision to deny the owner's appeal and keep the buildings in the Alexandria heritage listing records[115]. M.A.Awaad added that" It was obvious that the court viewed the cases sensitively in order not to conflict with the right to private ownership" In the explanation of the verdict on the Aziza Fahmy Palace case, the court based its verdict on the following: Firstly, the building was listed under the criteria "..... associated with a historical period" in accordance with Law 144; Secondly, the report of the experts in the listing committee emphasized its architectural values and social influence. More importantly, the court accepts our intercession in opposition to the owner based on our interests as local citizens in preserving our urban heritage. However, withholding information related to the value and the listing of the buildings, in addition to the legal status of the buildings, disrupts the efficiency of this approach.

To answer the foregoing questions based on ECESR experience in both cases, it appears that:

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[114] Aziza fahmy legal case No.8808 for the year 64 judiciry (2015). Fenni's building legal case No. 3757 for the year 54 Administrative Judiciary (2015).
[115] "المركز المصري للحقوق الاقتصادية والاجتماعية-مكتب الاسكندرية" (ecesralex@), "Alexandria Administrative court refuses the appeal.." Facebook, November 1, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/EcesrAlex/photos/a.261868703990947/503143623196786/?type=3

1- The local community has the legal right to interfere in the owner's appeal to the court as they also possess a direct interest in defending heritage.

2- The appeal cases can be seen as an opportunity to argue for the unconstitutionality of Law 144. If the Administrative Court decides to consider this request, it will be referred to the Supreme Constitution Court for review.

3- The legal interference proved to be effective in halting the demolition of heritage before it was started.

3.5 Tactics for mobilization

'Save Alex''s work caught the interest of many researchers and urban experts who wanted to learn from their experience. The co-founders of the movement were frequently invited to talks and workshops to present their work. In a paper titled "Virtual reality: towards preserving Alexandria heritage by raising awareness of the locals." [116] The author discusses the impact of increasing knowledge, enhancing the participatory heritage conservation process, and its ability to encourage the residents to save their own heritage from destruction. The study showed how 'Save Alex' approaches the issue of lack of public heritage awareness. The research highlighted the threats that face heritage in Alexandria through a discussion facilitated by 'Save Alex.' The discussion included different stakeholders to identify the main causes and effects that lead to the heritage demolition phenomenon.

Other studies were initiated to contextualize the impact of 'Save Alex''s work. For instance, members of the movement 'Lama Said' and 'Yomna Borg' took part in the study "Heritage in Action." [117] The researchers introduced the movement and highlighted their goals and values. More importantly, the study emphasized that the movement aims to transform built heritage

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[116] Aggour, Heba. "Virtual reality: towards preserving Alexandria heritage by raising the awareness of the locals." Archnet-IJAR: *International Journal of Architectural Research* 11, no. 3 (November 2017): 94–108.

[117] Borg, Yomna, and Lama Said. " Public Perception and Conservation: The Case of Alexandria's Built Heritage ." In *Heritage in Action: Making the Past in the Present*, 151–64. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2017. https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/978-3-319-42870-3.pdf.

preservation from an elitist practice into a public matter discussing socioeconomic, cultural, and functional implications.

While I was more interested in the long-term impact of 'Save Alex', I believe their experience includes many lessons for mobilization for the protection of heritage that local communities and groups can benefit from. I have created a SWOT analysis mind map to help understand and evaluate the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats concerning the overall approach of 'Save Alex'. The aim is to develop an awareness of all the factors, positive and negative, that may affect its continuity and work. Based on the analysis, I will highlight the most important tactics used by 'Save Alex' to overcome threats and further explain its efficacy. The goal is to explore the feasibility of its approaches and the possibilities of their adaptation by grassroots and local communities.

'Save Alex' core values and approaches

'Save Alex' emerges as a grassroots movement that aims to represent the society's interests in preserving the heritage and topple the imposed top-down approach in decision making to ensure the involvement of the local community in the conservation process. The group promotes adaptive reuse as an optimal path to insure the maintenance of heritage buildings by giving social functions to abandoned buildings.[118] Above all, 'Save Alex' advocates for the 'Right to heritage' as a part of a broader concept of the 'Right to the city,' which lies the heart of its core values. Likewise, the group acts as a task force for the protection of heritage buildings in Alexandria through the adaptation of different tools that include research, mobilization campaigns, and awareness events for the urgent safeguarding of heritage buildings.   Below, internal and external factors that positively contribute to the achievement of long-term goals are identified. The strength and opportunities identified will be elaborated

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[118] Hassan, Ahmed "Retaining momentum?" in *Urban Minorities*, Volume 6, René Seyfarth, Frank Eckardt (Bauhaus urban studies: Königshausen & Neumann, 2016), 177–78.

in the following analysis. The threats and weaknesses are recognized as a negative influence on the success of their public outreach. As it appears in the diagram, I have linked the political environment and restrictive laws that are placed on the work of civil society as an external threat that halted the initiative's abilities and limited its outreach. Drawing on this, I have developed my own conclusions on how the initiative addressed those threats and the paths they took to adapt to the circumstances (see **Error! Reference source not found.**).
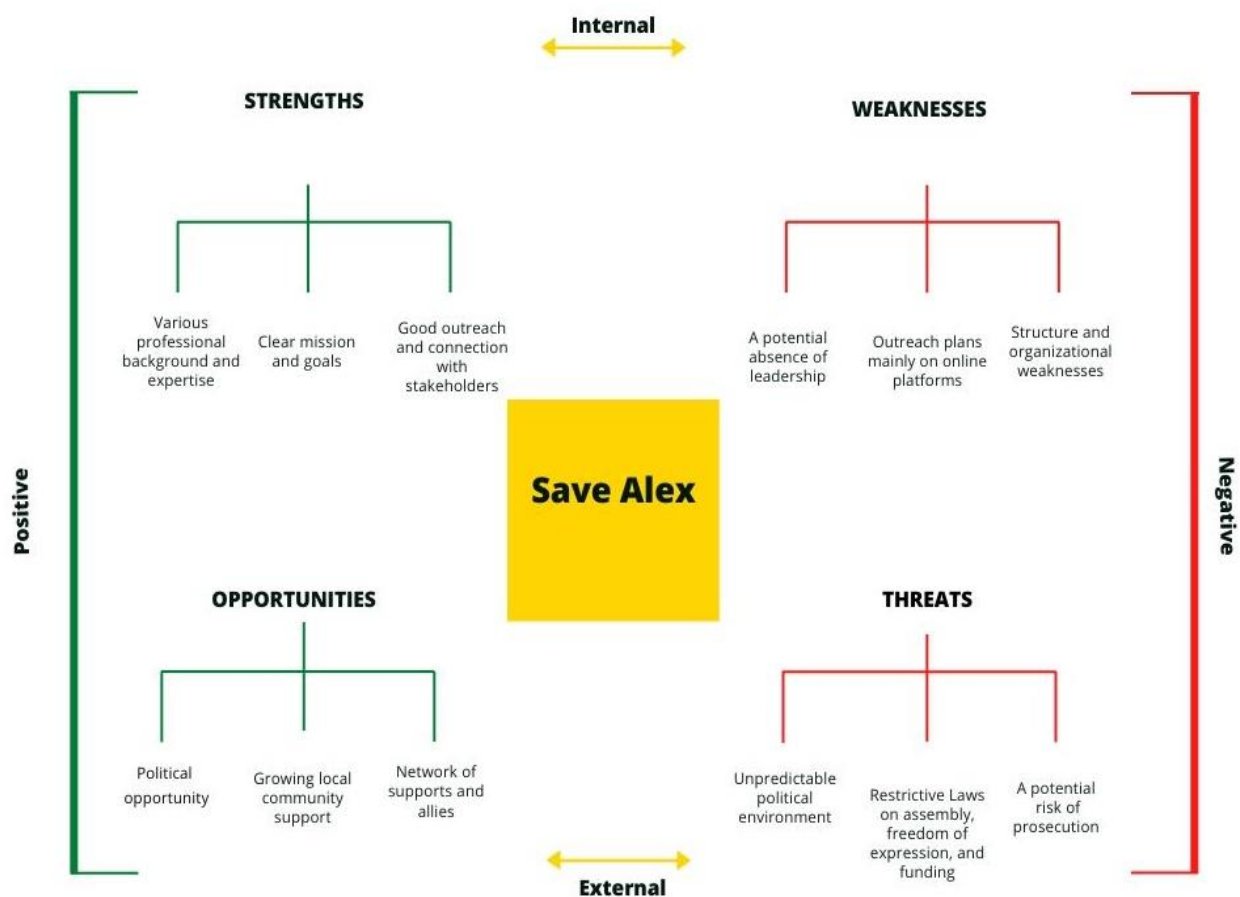

Figure 26 'SAVE ALEX' mobilization SWOT analysis by the researcher.

Compiling experiences and expanding mobilization tools

The variety of specialties in the movement proved to be of significant benefit to its public outreach. As a result, the movement was able to explore the feasibility of several advocacy tools for the protection of heritage. Firstly, the founders of the movement are social and human rights activists. Thus, they were able to drive the strategy in a way that establishes the image of 'Save Alex' as a human rights group — starting with the adaptation of the tools for mobilization in a manner similar to other social and economic rights groups, including protests and joint petitions.

Secondly, the initiative is driven by architects and urban planning specialists who understand the empirical nature of architectural heritage and can point out the consequences of mismanagement in urban planning. The group of specialists also includes academics who influenced a younger generation of scholars to bring attention to urban heritage issues and propose solutions for its enhancement. Thirdly, both groups of founders agreed to seek legal consultation and research to grasp the legal implications of their work and develop proposals for legislative amendments as long-term measures for the protection of heritage buildings. Therefore, the movement included law practitioners, researchers, and legal assistance organizations to explore actions can be undertaken for the protection of heritage buildings.

Change in strategy and adapting to circumstances

'Save Alex', as any other civil society movement in Egypt, suffers from the restrictions placed on it by the government. After the revolution, the government has continuously issued new laws that aim to tie the hands of civil society and control their activities and funding, in addition to the list of laws that prohibit assembly, demonstration, and target prosecution of its members. Hassan said: "We had ambitious plans to empower our outreach in the field and also to create a larger network… However, after 2013, we feared that any mobilization actions might put the

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movement members and supporters in a critical security position and might even endanger their lives as well."

In those circumstances, the initiative's ability to reach out to the local community in the field was limited. Therefore, the movement was forced to change its strategy and adapt to the new circumstances. It is evident in the case of the Aghion Villa, 'Save Alex' approached the stakeholders involved and directed its efforts towards disseminating information about the case between decision-makers to influence their decision. The initiative addressed stakeholders through direct communication in meetings or mediation sessions, as in Aghion's case, or indirectly through a third party such as the media. It is noteworthy that the initiative did not position itself in opposition to the state but also showed itself to be willing to cooperate and facilitate discussions for the reformation of the urban and housing system.

Moreover, 'Save Alex' worked to establish visibility for the cases in national and international media. Through its Facebook page, the initiative encouraged the interaction and the involvement of locals; more importantly, it provided its followers with a platform to report violations against heritage in their own neighborhoods. In this sense, 'Save Alex' has maintained its existence in the field and its connection with local people.

Flexible structure and unifying efforts

'Save Alex' attracted other groups to work under the umbrella of 'Save Alex' as a concept that exceeds the whole. Since the establishment of the movement, the members have worked cooperatively with individuals and civil society organizations to unite their efforts. Furthermore, there was no hierarchy between the members within the initiative, and all efforts were welcomed. The group takes decisions flexibly during open-meetings that are advertised on 'Save Alex''s page. The facilitators of the meetings engage the attendees to contribute ideas and decide cooperatively on the next step. The meetings brought together old and new

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members, and on some occasions, even heritage building owners and investors took part in meetings.

In the above SWOT analysis, I have identified issues concerned with the structure and organization as internal factors that weaken 'Save Alex''s work. In relation to this discussion, Hassan commented by saying that "'Save Alex' enjoyed the advantages of having a flat organizational structure," and added that "on the other hand, this structure makes it hard to resolve conflicts within the group; however, I believe that we were fortunate to avoid those disadvantages," Additionally, members of the initiative are active members of national and international societies in development and arts. In this regard, they bring up ideas and activities, including their networks, which creates more visibility for the cause.

The Initiative no longer holds public meetings because of the aforementioned political atmosphere explained earlier. However, 'Save Alex' relies on the support of its network to facilitate meeting venues and conduct its activities in cooperation with NGOs and cultural centers. This is evident from the recent activities of 'Save Alex' that included talks and workshops concerning urban issues and conservation matters. For that reason, 'Save Alex' maintains its continuity regardless of whether its founders are in the picture or not. More importantly, it provides space for others to step in and keep the initiative alive and connected with local communities.

Winning new and perhaps unexpected allies

'Save Alex' worked to lobby and network with stakeholders who supposedly influence the overall policy. The aim is to strengthen the face of the cause and move towards the achievement of its long-term goals. Regardless of the immediate outcome of the advocacy campaign, the connections created within the initiative has opened gateways for discussion regarding overall heritage policy. It also enhanced the level of cooperation between heritage conservation groups

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and stakeholders. Through 'Save Alex' member's connections, it managed to create direct links with the committees that are responsible for listing and overseeing heritage buildings in Alexandria. Furthermore, 'Save Alex' used these connections to expand the level of cooperation between officials, NGOs, and heritage preservation initiatives.

'Save Alex' provokes discussions related to the reuse of buildings in a way that benefits the owners of the heritage and preserves the buildings. The movement does not see the heritage owners as a threat; instead, they make efforts to understand their motives and the challenges they face to maintain the heritage intact. Fair legal compensations for the heritage building owners are one of the demands of the movement.

Additionally, the movement provides a platform through its social media accounts for those who want to express concerns or seek assistance for the conservation of a property, something evident through 'Save Alex''s website page and its and publications on behalf of heritage buildings seekers for re-utilization. 'Save Alex' justified this cooperation in a post by saying, "Occupying abandoned heritage buildings for (residential, administrative or commercial) purposes is one of the most important means to save them from demolition and preserve them." These initiatives and strategies contribute to consistently gaining new allies and facilitating connections and consultations for the conservation of the buildings.

Targeting the policy for long-term impact

'Save Alex' sheds light on urban planning and management issues in Alexandria. The initiative worked side by side with policy and legal experts who have an interest in heritage preservation. The collaboration aimed to highlight the flaws in the system and propose alternatives for its management, as in the case in Aziza Fahmy Palace and Fenni Building. Additionally, they reached out to decision-makers with their findings to advocate for changes in the policy.

Furthermore, the initiative worked to involve the public in the conservation process by calling for collective actions that aim to challenge the policy, such as Collecting signatures, petitions, and lobbying with parliament members. 'Save Alex' worked to transmit their take on the law and the management system in a simplified language to help their audience understand its complications. In a petition sent by the 'Save Alex' to the Governor of Alexandria, the initiative proposed a series of urgent measures to save heritage buildings from being demolished. [119] The petition referred to the importance of studying the rents law and the utilization of the empty properties as a long-term approach. In addition, they stress the need to reduce the burden on the city with proper planning and properly researched expansion plans.

Impact on public awareness

'Save Alex''s experience sets the example of a successful grassroots mobilization for urban and architectural conservation in Alexandria. The movement has inspired youth who live in other cities in Egypt and have an interest in protecting heritage. In line with the main motto 'Save the City," similar initiatives have sprouted up in Cairo, Mansoura, Port Said, Suez, Minia, and other Egyptian cities. In 2017, the Danish Egyptian Dialogue Institute (DEDI) and the Swedish Institute in Alexandria, in cooperation with the Ministry of Antiquities, facilitated the establishment of the Egypt Heritage Network. The network launch an annual heritage event, "People and Heritage," to enhance discussions of heritage preservation in Egypt.[120]

Moreover, the initiative members organize and speak in a number of events and workshops to enhance public awareness of urban and housing issues. In addition, the initiative sees the documentation and production of research papers and visual materials that are made accessible

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[119] A petition prepared by 'Save Alex' in cooperation with other thirteen initiatives and organizations concerned with urban heritage. February 20, 2014. Provided by Ahmed Hassan, co-founder of 'Save Alex'.
[120] "Cluster" (@clustercairo), "CLUSTER participation in the Egypt Heritage Network," Facebook, Octorber 17, 2016. https://www.facebook.com/clustercairo/photos/a.1118993431483358/1118998568149511/?type=3.

and fall under the Creative Commons license. [121] For example, 'Save Alex' took part in the AltShift Festival in 2019,[122], organized by Ouishare.[123] 'Save Alex' members lead discussions on urban planning and housing in a number of workshops and talks during the festival.[124] Moreover, 'Save Alex''s team of architects worked in cooperation with other initiatives to produce sketches for Alexandria architectural heritage. For instance, the 'Save Alex' Tram project organized an exhibition entitled "A Matter of HOURS" in April 2018. The exhibition aimed to discuss the characteristics of the tram and underline its value as part of the city's identity. [125][126]

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[121] license is used when an author wants to give other people the right to share, use, and build upon a work that they have created. Source WIKIPEDIA.

[122] A three-day professional interdisciplinary event that gathers creative leaders, entrepreneurs, movement builders, purpose-driven organizations and communities from across sectors and countries who want to drive systemic and meaningful change. For more information: https://www.ouishare.net/events/altshift-festival-cairo

[123] An international NGO organization established in 2012 and now present in 40 cities around the globe, which aims to connect people and accelerates projects for systemic change. For more information: https://www.ouishare.net/

[124] 'Save Alex' (@savealex), "Yesterday we participated in the Altshift 19 event among many," Facebook, October 18, 2019. https://www.facebook.com/savealexeg/posts/2415907645128908.

[125] Alexandria tram is one of the oldest tram lines in the world and the first in Africa, it was constructed in 1863. The tram brings a sense of nostalgia between Alexandrians of the cosmopolitan Alexandria period. The tram is still operating until now.

[126] 'Save Alex' (@savealex), "Nowadays, Alexandria historical city encounter a number ," Facebook, April 29, 2019. https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.2099375470115462&type=3.

Chapter IV   Adaptive reuse and social integration

In the first part of this chapter, I present a short overview of the cultural influence of Fouad Street as part of the historic central district of Alexandria as well as provide an introduction to SIGMA's values and mission. Moving forward, I will discuss the model that SIGMA proposes through the case of Societé Immobilière and the establishment of Shelter art space. In this part, I rely primarily on two interviews; one with the architect Mamoon Azmy, the technical adviser and one of the founders of Shelter, and the other with Chymaa Ramzy, the Executive Director of Shelter. [127] [128] At the end of this section, I will open a discussion concerning the issues surrounding gentrification and its impact on heritage districts. The discussion proposed is concerned with public participation in decision-making and the link between gentrification and social engagement in historic districts.

4.1 The cultural influence of Fouad Street

Fouad Street, in the area of downtown Alexandria, is famous for its architectural heritage and shopping centers. The street is one of the oldest roads in the world as it was established in 331 BC during the Ptolemaic Period. The street was named after King Fouad I (1917-1922). The street is rich with Italian and French architecture that brought a sense of nostalgia to Egypt at the beginning of the twentieth century. Fouad Street is considered an open museum that includes more than 50 historical buildings, two of which received an award for the best façade design from the Municipal Council in Alexandria (see Figure 27).[129]

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[127] Interview with Mamoon Azmy (semi-structured) April 14 – April 26, 2020
[128] Interview with Chymaa Ramzy (semi-structured) May 12, 2020.
[129] "شارع فؤاد» أقدم طرق العالم: التاريخ مرّ من هنا»" ["Fouad Street" is the oldest road in the world: history has passed from here] Al-Masry Al-Youm, January 28, 2019. https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/1365145.

Fouad Street is a cultural and entertainment destination for Alexandrians as it accommodates several privately-owned businesses for shopping and dining, in addition to theatres and cultural centers. According to an article entitled "Revitalizing Alexandria through its symbolic significance of heritage, urban form, and the distinctive spirit of place." [130] The journal article aims to assess the current status of Fouad Street and propose a solution to revitalize/regenerate the Euro-Mediterranean heritage of Alexandria to ensure future economic benefits. The results of the study showed that commercial and retail activities in Fouad Street occupy around 64% of ground-floor units, mostly retail units, including both banks or food and beverage venues.

Figure 27 Fouad Street, 1936. Memories of Alexandria page on Facebook. Accessed May 20, 2020

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[130] A.Elseragy, A.Elnokaly, and M.Sabbagh "Revitalizing Alexandria through its symbolic significance of heritage; urban form; and the distinctive spirit of place," Proceedings of the International Conference on Changing Cities III Spatial, Design, Landscape & Socio-economic Dimension (2017). 1825-1830.

As for its cultural influence, the street hosts an annual festival "Alexandria Heritage Days," organized by the French cultural organization Centre d'Études Alexandrines (CEAlex). Nassim el Raqs, a contemporary dance creation festival, is also held annually on the street since 2011. Fouad Street is listed as a protected heritage area in accordance with Prime Minister Decision No 278 issued in 2008.[131]

Development of Fouad Street

Fouad Street is in the focus of the interest of policymakers and urban planners to focus in the downtown area. The street and its neighborhood were listed as an area of particular interest and distinctive heritage on the Alexandria heritage lists of 1999 and 2008. This is manifested in many projects implemented to develop the downtown block to preserve its architectural wealth. In this regard, I present, [132] "The re-development of Alexandria's historic city center along Gamal Abdel Nasser Avenue, Salah Salem Street, and Kom el Dikka district" project. The project aims to restore and document architectural heritage in the area of downtown Alexandria. It was conducted cooperatively between research, educational, cultural, and governmental institutions, namely Alexandria University, the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, the Governorate of Alexandria and the Egyptian Ministry of Culture, the World Bank, and the European Commission as well as civil society organizations. The project proposes redevelopment of the city center along its historic spine to promote entrepreneurship, economic sustainability, and social welfare.

According to the project report, the project phases are: First, the pre-design phase, which includes surveying archaeological sites and architectural heritage buildings. This phase aims to identify problems concerning the condition of the heritage and formulate a policy and

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[131] "Al-Waqa'a Al-Masria" "Volume one," Prime minister decision No 278 for the year 2008, edition No. 5 issued January 31, 2008.

[132] For information about the project see; http://awad-associates.com/docs/Fouad%20St.pdf.

guidelines to address related issues. This stage also includes the presentation of the project before the public in open events to gather the opinions and concerns of the local community; Secondly, the design phase that reviews the feasibility of the project by revising the preliminary proposal of the projects. This phase targets identification of the project's active participants and developers to design the development plan; Thirdly, the post-design phase is concerned with the actual implementation of the project. The site management and supervision should be the responsibility of the heritage management unit that was formed by the Governor of Alexandria in 2017 for those purposes. [133] It appears from the project report that the redevelopment plans involving the civil society to conduct public consultations and many of its activities target the community living in the downtown area (see Fig. 28).
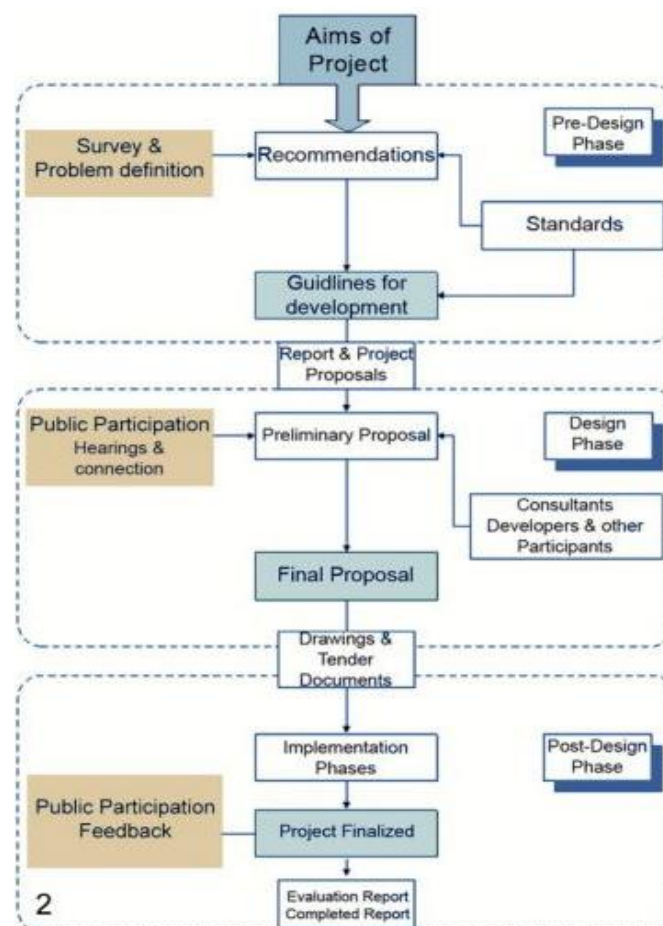

Figure 28 Project phases. Source APT report

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[133] Hashim, Radwa "محافظ الإسكندرية يصدر قرارا بإنشاء إدارة للحفاظ على التراث المعماري" [The Governor of Alexandria issued a decision establishing a unit to preserve the architectural heritage] Elwatan News, October 13, 2017, https://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/2610708

4.2 Presenting a model: the case of Societé Immobilière

Societé Immobilière is a neo-renaissance building located in the heart of the historical district of Fouad Street, Alexandria. The building was purchased and renovated by SIGMA properties, which presents itself as a property management company specialized in developing and re-utilizing heritage buildings. The adaptive reuse plans of Societé Immobilière included the renovation of the ground floor and passages to turn it to a commercial hub named L-Passage. Today, L-Passage hosts 11 international and local food and beverage brands that serve thousands of customers monthly.[134] As part of the company social responsibility program, SIGMA established an art space " Shelter " in the bunker area of the heritage building. Societé Immobilière renovation and Shelter set an example of conservation and reuse projects that approach sustainable cultural heritage management in the field of the creative economy.[135]

The history of the building

The Societé Immobilière was constructed in 1928 by a wealthy Italian family, "*Averino,*" who hired the Greek-Egyptian architect N. Gripari to re-design their building in downtown Alexandria after a disagreement with the original designer. The Gripari design became distinguished as a unique example of neo-renaissance architecture in Alexandria. The building was designed to follow the concept of mixed-use that included the following: A ground-floor for retail shops; A mezzanine-floor for office spaces, and the rest of the space devoted to residential floors. Additionally, the building accommodated an underground bunker that was built to protect the residents from the danger of air raids during World War II.[136] Moreover,

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[134] "Projects: SOCIÉTÉ IMMOBILIÈRE," SIGMA properties, accessed April 15, 2020, http://sigmaproperties.net/projects-ios2.html.

[135] El-Sherif, Heba " Shelter : How a former Egyptian bunker has become a creative haven for artists", The National, February 12, 2020, https://www.thenational.ae/arts-culture/art/ Shelter -how-a-former-egyptian-bunker-has-become-a-creative-haven-for-artists-1.977710

[136] Adaptive Reuse Potential (ARP) model as an evaluation method for urban heritage conservation in downtown Alexandria, Egypt." In *Proceedings of the Fourth Biennial of Architectural and Urban Restoration*, 1:398–404, 2018.

Societé Immobilière stands as a testimony to the wealth and pluralism of cosmopolitan Alexandria. The building was distinguished as a destination for the elite of the Alexandrian society during the twentieth century. The Societé Immobilière building is protected under Law No. 144 for the year 2006, which regulates demolition licenses and is concerned with protecting buildings of recognized architectural value. In 2008, the building was listed in the Alexandria heritage list called the "List of buildings and structures prohibited from demolition." The law prohibits the issuance of permits for the demolition or alteration of the building. ***Error!***
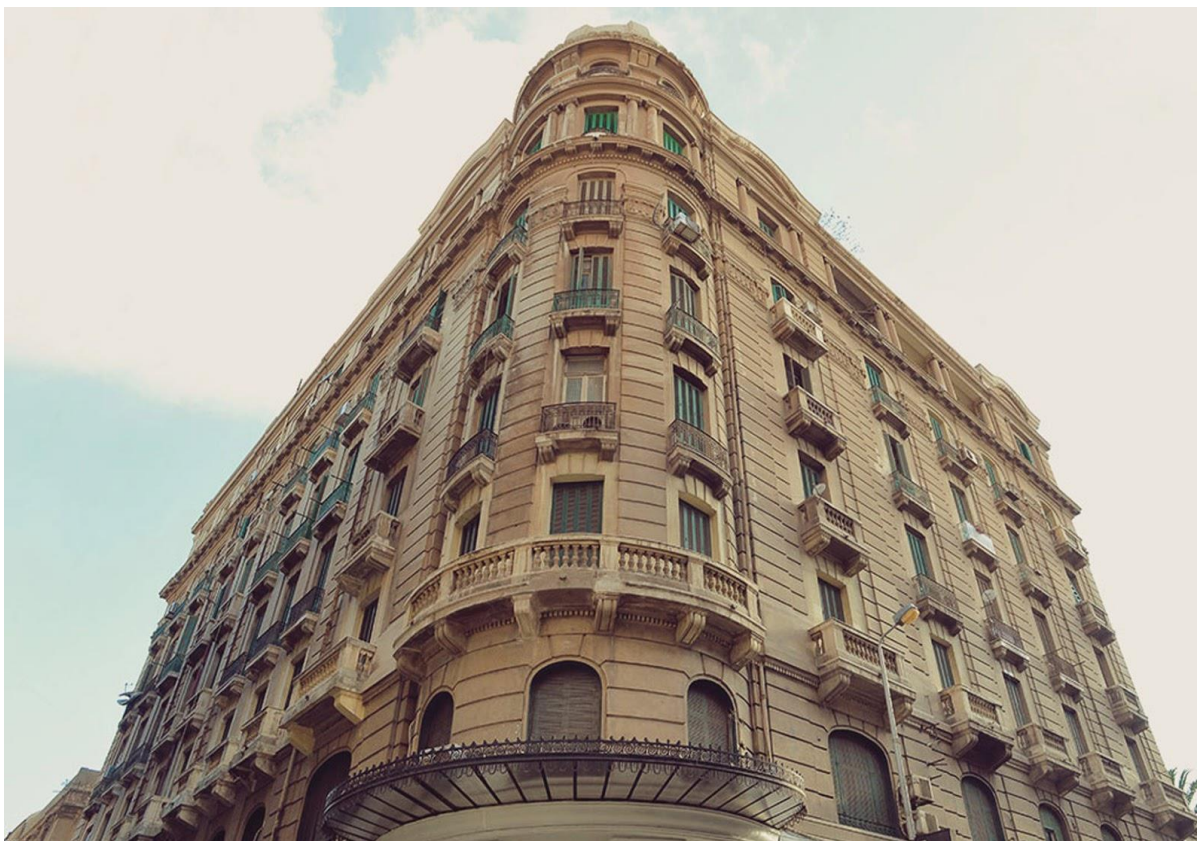
Figure 29 Societé Immobilière building, Fouad I Street, Alex, Alexandria. Photo: Great Egypt archive.

Reference source not found.

About the project

In 2010, SIGMA launched a project to renovate the building, starting with conducting several studies on its architectural elements and plans for its reuse. The renovation plans were focused on the area of the ground floor, and the bunker since the upper floors were occupied by tenants

with old leases. In the case of L Passage, the ground floor adaptation plans changed the function of the space from storage to food and beverage activity. The L Passage project brought the building back to life and encouraged investors to explore the potentials of investing in heritage buildings (see Figure 30).

Figure 30 L-Passage. Source:http://www.sigmaproperties.net/about.html

Renovation and reuse of the bunker

In 2010, SIGMA launched a multiple phase project to restore and re-utilize the Societé Immobilière building. The building consists of six residential floors in addition to a ground-floor for retail shops and a mezzanine-floor for office spaces and an underground bunker. The potentials uses of the space were many, and SIGMA was not rushing to fill the space. After seven years of careful studies, two members of the SIGMA properties board approached Alexandrian art managers to discuss the potential for using the bunker space.

The reputation of both members in the cultural society in Alexandria as business innovators and heritage preservers contributed to the establishment of Shelter art space. SIGMA board members cooperated with art managers, architects, contemporary artists, lawyers, and

accountants in formulating and shaping Shelter 's mission and vision. Meanwhile, Shelter project managers and consultants worked to forge a network with local Alexandria artists and seek opportunities for cooperation with other NGOs and art spaces in Alexandria.

During the early stages of the project, SIGMA properties board members formed a facilitating group to ensure a smooth implementation of the renovation plan and the establishment of Shelter as a legal entity. The group included SIGMA board members engineer. Mohamed Abdel-Meguid and Karim Mahmoud as the legal founders of the art space, the technical adviser, and architectural expert, Mamoon Azmy and other consultants from SIGMA with expertise in development and business. SIGMA assigned office spaces on the ground floor for Shelter while the main company offices occupied other floors in the building. The facilitating group held a weekly meeting in Shelter's office space to discuss the project's progress and decide on the set up of the place together. After nearly two years of consultations and careful restoration work, the bunker was set up as an exhibition and performing arts space. Chymaa Ramzy, the executive director of Shelter, said that "whoever is involved with Shelter develops sensitivity in dealing with heritage to maintain the space and the restored walls... and the current team of Shelter is knowledgeable about the restoration and the history of the heritage building."

The renovation of the bunker was financed totally by SIGMA. In this matter, I discussed the possibilities for external funding during my interview with Mamoon Azmy. Azmy explained that "We relied completely on SIGMA funding the renovation work.. occasionally, disruptions in the cash flow caused a delay in our schedule ... but considering the alternative solution, to apply for grants to continue renovation was not efficient," Azmy added, " On the one hand, the business model SIGMA is promoting is not suitable for that… On the other hand, funding in the field of arts and development is subjected to politicization by some, not to mention the laws

and measures that prevent foreign funding … In this matter, SIGMA is funding art projects as part of its CSR program." [137]

Building ties with stakeholders

Shelter came to achieve SIGMA's vision in creating new urban narratives and meanings for heritage buildings. The project aims to enhance the local art scene in Alexandria and support its young artists by offering a dynamic space for displaying contemporary visual and performing arts. Shelter designed its activities to address a broad audience of those who can afford to purchase the art and those who can only enjoy it for free. Since its opening in June 2019, Shelter has hosted and organized nearly 30 artistic events, including workshops, art talks, and exhibitions for visual artists and writers.

While it is hard to evaluate Shelter's marketing and outreach plans at this early stage of the project, it is important to point out the efforts of the team in establishing a network with local artists to their connections to build a name for the space in the cultural community in Alexandria. While discussing the target audience of the art space, Azmy said, " Shelter hosts a wide-ranging public from different backgrounds and social classes... Most of our events are free and for all the public … in the case of exclusive exhibitions, we make sure in agreement with the artist that there will also be a day for public display."

On a similar note, SIGMA works collaboratively with different educational institutes and departments to conduct workshops and seminars targeting architecture and engineering students at Alexandria University. Those targeted activities aim to raise the awareness of a new generation of architects and urban planners about the potentials of adaptive reuse projects. Moreover, SIGMA designed projects and made partnerships to facilitate and fund activities

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[137] CSR is an abbreviation of "Corporate social responsibility" which is a type of international private business self-regulation that aims to contribute to societal goals through charity or supporting volunteering or ethically-oriented practices.

that aim to promote the architectural heritage of Alexandria. In addition, SIGMA supports and funds artistic and cultural events such as the "Alexandria Heritage Days" festival, which is held annually on Fouad Street. Moreover, SIGMA is working on expanding its communication with grassroots movements and local community initiatives that have an interest in preserving heritage such as 'Save Alex.' SIGMA worked collaboratively in projects and publications that document the heritage of Alexandria. Azmy pointed out, " The architects and researchers in SIGMA cooperatively research the value and the history of the buildings of interest... they condition publishing the research on online platforms with their partners to address the issue of lack of information about Alexandria architecture."

SIGMA Model for conservation

SIGMA properties present itself as a property management company specialized in developing and re-utilizing heritage. Within this framework, SIGMA introduces the model as part of the public-private partnership (PPP) projects for heritage conservation. The business mechanisms that the compony adopt are close to the Buy-Conserve-Operate (BCO) approach (see Figure).[138] The company started as a family enterprise in 1959 and now operates in pump supply, marine equipment, petroleum services, chemical manufacturing, and real estate. Beginning in 1992, the company started acquiring heritage properties in two governorates, Cairo and Alexandria, and currently own around 30 historic properties.[139]

In this sense, SIGMA's mission is business-driven while it considers the social value and engagement as another approach for its work. The objective is to establish a portfolio of buildings that could deliver cultural and social benefits while ensuring its integration in society. In this context, SIGMA identifies its mission as follows; " *Our mission is to add all the right*

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[138] Badawi, Aya Samir "52 Fouad Street: How did the Sigma company shift this property from the past to the present?", The National, December 01, 2019, http://www.tadamun.co/?post_type=initiative&p=10498&lang=en&lang=en

[139] "About," SIGMA Properties, Accessed on May 27, 2020, http://www.sigmaproperties.net/about.html

elements for the rehabilitation of historic buildings into modern life through repurposing key heritage properties and making them relevant again. Our method from acquisition to development is also based on an informative approach, which allows us to shed light on the cultural enrichment that each building brings into its direct environment.[140] ''

Figure 31 The traditional model of real estate investment versus the model adopted by Sigma. Source: Tadamun

Figure 31 Process flow by the researcher illustrating the SIGMA acquisition model.

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[140] "Mission," SIGMA Prosperities, accessed on May 27, 2020, http://www.sigmaproperties.net/about.html

To achieve its purpose, the company purchases heritage assets after conducting thoughtful research on its social and historical value. Additionally, SIGMA's business developers and heritage consultants initiate a feasibility study before purchasing the building to determine the potentials for its reuse. In the next step, the team consults with the legal department to decide on the legal status of the building. A number of the company's divisions work cooperatively to prepare a business plan that achieves financial sustainability while preserving the heritage asset (see Figure 31).

Importantly, many of the heritage properties are subject to the old rent law, which gives the tenants the right to bequeath property to their descendants with a fixed rent fee. Thus, the heritage value of a registered building does not offer its owner any tangible, economic benefits. The main profit comes from the added activities after development, especially the use of the ground-floor for storage spaces. In that sense, SIGMA seeks cooperation with the new building investors in renovating the property and promotes its new activity.

For the previously mentioned issues, it appears that Shelter's program within the SIGMA project may be considered an avant-garde and progressive initiative. The SIGMA approach described here is indeed challenging; nevertheless, it is not so easy to create/find sustainable cultural content in a great number of heritage buildings.

4.3 Adaptive reuse and gentrification discussions

While exploring the adaptive reuse projects, discussions concerning the impact of gentrification in creating social alienation, and displacement of the low and middle class should not be avoided. In a paper titled, 'Gentrification indicators in the historic city of Cairo' the authors explore the application of Kennedy and Leonard's assessment indicators on the historic

city of Cairo. [141] The researchers concluded that the case study has strong primary and secondary indications for gentrification, such as high rates of rent and increasing levels of metropolitan congestion. The authors also pointed out that failing to include indicators to assess the level of education, awareness, and behavior in dealing with monument value represents weaknesses in the measuring process. More interestingly, they drew attention to the importance of tracking other aspects such as the customs and traditions of the community surrounding religious monuments, whether the district is famous or not for the locals. Apart from that, the researchers emphasized that more studies need to be conducted to understand how gentrification will evolve in light of the recent renovation of heritage buildings.

In this context, I agree with the authors and add that the local community's cultural interactions with the surroundings create new social meanings for the heritage. From this perspective, It is important to measure the cultural influence of the district and see how much it affects the audience who frequently visit and engage with its cultural environment, taking into account that this is a particularly critical situation in historical districts like Fouad Street.

I propose considering other indicators in the assessment process, such as the historical value of the architecture and its impact on its maintenance on the economy. This is apparent in the case of Fouad Street, as several developments and restoration projects were implemented to maintain its architectural heritage. The Alexandria Heritage Days festival is part of this framework.

The project was launched in September 2010. The purpose of this event is to attract public attention to the significance of the heritage that surrounds them. The festival is organized by the Centre d'Études Alexandrines in cooperation with many institutions and organizations in

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[141] Eldiadamony, Muhammad and Ahmed Shetawy. "Gentrification indicators in the historic city of Cairo," *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 225 (2016) 107-118.

Alexandria.[142] The festival agenda includes a variety of activities such as concerts, films, documentaries, lecturers, meetings with writers, and exhibitions. The festival was attended by nearly two thousand people in its first edition and is now considered a major attraction in Alexandria.[143]

As for the Societé Immobiliére, the building is considered as a commercial hub for hosting L Passage's restaurants and cafes. The facility services and brands attract hundreds of walk-in clients daily and gained popularity among Alexandrians. However, the project brought discussions related to the creation of an atmosphere that was intimidating for the residents. Some say that the building was attracting the type of customer who could afford the prices of the food brands. This aspect raises concerns about how this social group will end up transforming the social arena in a way that may contribute to making heritage exclusive to a particular, more economically advantaged social class.

In the discussion of heritage and gentrification, I bring attention to the paper 'Heritage, gentrification, participation: Remaking urban landscapes in the name of culture and historic preservation' by Lynn Meskell.[144] The author argued that the strategies of gentrification are deeply steeped in political and economic agendas. In this context, national policies reflect on the process of gentrification and support it "as a tool of nation-state-building and city branding ideologies of mixed communities and social mixing." Additionally, Meskell considers that the good intentions in the "saving the heritage" call cannot be taken for granted. In the presence of politics and profit, such projects can be easily misused.

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[142] Egypt Today staff, "Alexandrian Heritage days to be organized in November," Egypt today, November 1, 2017, LexisNexis Academic. https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/4/30521/Alexandrian-Heritage-days-to-be-organized-in-November
[143] " The Heritage days in Alexandria," Media Kitab, November 22, 2011. https://mediakitab.com/en/workshops-en/journees-du-patrimoine-a-alexandrie-2011/
[144] Meskell, Meskell, "Heritage, Gentrification, Participation: Remaking Urban Landscapes in the Name of Culture and Historic Preservation."

To elaborate on the source of these discussions, I recall an example of an adaptation and restoration project in Lebanon. The restoration and development of the Beirut Central District project was conducted by The Lebanese Company for the Development and Reconstruction (Solidère). [145] The project started in 1994 to redevelop Beirut city center following the devastating Lebanese Civil War. Through time, Solidère transformed the downtown area into an elite district by accommodating top, expensive brands

Figure 32 "Stop Solidère" banner, Photographer Fadia Ahmed. Source: https://loeildelaphotographie.com/en/fadia-ahmad-beirut/not together with the image.

and forcing a high price on properties [146]. Under Hariri's political administration and supervision over the project, the downtown area became an exclusive area for the rich and alienated the poor from the cultural scene. The laws and the system favored investors and placed a financial burden on the owners of heritage buildings who wanted to renovate their properties.[147] In light of this social inequality, Lebanese protestors took the opportunity during the 2019 protests to reclaim the city center for the citizens and demand a change in housing laws (Figure 32).[148] ***Error! Reference source not found.***

In a scenario when the owner cannot benefit from the real estate and was financially consumed by the maintenance of their property, it will sooner or later become an unwanted burden. In this context, I disagree with the Meskell n her view that pursuing any economic benefits from

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[145] An acronym of Société Libanaise pour le Développement et la Reconstruction de Beyrouth.

[146] Egypt Today staff, "Alexandrian Heritage days to be organized in November," Egypt today, November 1, 2017, LexisNexis Academic. https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/4/30521/Alexandrian-Heritage-days-to-be-organized-in-November

[147] To read more more about the case: https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1344040.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Adf941eb707c0d7516a745ddc1a8b00cb.

[148] Mortada, Sagy. "اسمه وسط بيروت. مش سوليدير"""" [Called downtown Beirut .. "Not Solidere]. Almayadeen, December 3, 2019. https://www.almayadeen.net/news/politics/.........

the heritage is an evil approach that will ultimately harm the heritage and the community. In a study conducted in 2012 to identify the reasons for owners' objections to the heritage conservation law and their motivation to exclude their properties from the heritage records,[149] it was revealed that about eighty-five percent of the owners of the listed buildings had maintenance problems. Adding to this existential problem, the owners claimed that the process of receiving permission to restore the building from the local authority was very difficult. The researcher emphasized that the results of the study reflect a lack of advocacy and awareness, more importantly, a lack of collaboration between public-private and community sectors.

In response to those concerns, SIGMA stressed public involvement in the restoration projects during its initiation phase and throughout the process. This strategy is clearly reflected in the company's values that confirms its commitment to integrity during the heritage acquisition process and engagement with the local community as key partners and beneficiaries. This is manifested in several numbers of SIGMA's CSR projects and the partnership they established with civil society organizations and movements. Responding to my question about whether the project contributes to the creation of social class intimidation, Chymaa said, "The case differs in SocietéImmobilièr. L passage includes a mix of brands that target different social classes. In addition, the project encouraged small businesses to start food and beverage enterprises on Fouad Street" Chymaa added "the goal of the rehabilitation of SocietéImmobilièr is to bring it to the local community for its own use " "the L-passage project attracted youth and specifically early-career artists who work in and frequently visit Fouad Street. Chymaa added, "as seen, the project encouraged small businesses in for food and beverage to start in Fouad street."

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[149] Elsorady, Dalia (2011). Heritage conservation in Alexandria, Egypt: Managing tensions between ownership and legislation. International Journal of Heritage Studies. 17. 497-513.

Conclusion

This thesis aims to improve the efficacy of public engagement in the protection of architectural heritage by providing grassroots and local communities with mobilization tools. In this context, I analyzed the legislation system and management of urban heritage in Egypt and elaborated on its gaps and inconsistencies using Alexandria as a case study. I first examined the local management system and implementation of the criteria on architectural heritage in relation to Law 144/2006. Secondly, I examined and contextualized the use of a variety of tools adopted by civil society movements for the protection of built heritage.

In the process of tracking the development of 'the concept of the right to cultural heritage' in the constitutional projects in Egypt, it appeared that each constitutional amendment presented a more progressive approach to emphasize culture and manifest the shaping of the Egyptian identity. However, the rapid changes in the political sphere did not leave much room for the concept to grow and showed a lack of long-term vision. In that regard, I highlighted the efforts of the cultural community towards pushing for the establishment of the right to cultural heritage in the constitution after the revolution. That resulted in the drafting of a chapter that identifies the cultural components of Egypt and regulates its management. More importantly, the 2014 Constitution acknowledges culture as a right for all Egypt's citizens and positions the state as a supporter of this right. The constitution emphasized the protection of heritage and cultural wealth, whether physical or moral, regardless of the time it was produced or its type.

Against this backdrop, the laws and the regulation that protects heritage failed to provide an equal level of protection for the built heritage, namely heritage buildings. As it appears from examining the Law 14/2006 which was supposed to fill the legislative vacuum left by the failure of the state to establish a system to protectr built heritage from the nineteenth and

twentieth centuries. The law failed to set clear criteria for identifying the heritage under its protection. On top of that, the regulations following the law caused more damage by including criteria of heritage that conflicted with the second article of the law. In this regard, the Administrative Court in Alexandria, on many occasions, confirmed the "illegality of Prime Minister Ahmed Nazif's decree with the standards of the heritage" as the laws had precedence over the prime ministerial resolutions in the hierarchy of the legal system. For that reason, the court took the liberty of removing heritage buildings from the national registry for not meeting the criteria as laid down in the law.

The consequences of these legal lacunae were explained through the examination of the case of Alexandria - starting by remarks concerning the history of the city's heritage that fell within the timeframe of the legislation under discussion. Moving forward, I took a closer look at the listing mechanism of architectural heritage and explained the limitations of the responsibility of the listing committees. I identified three main issues related to the listing of Alexandria's architectural heritage. The first is concerned with the devising of a new classification standard that breached article 2 of Law 144/2006. The second and the third issues are related to the failure to define which historical era a building belongs to and identifying the public figure with which the building is associated with.

Reclaiming public spaces and heritage was one of the potential gains of the revolution. Unfortunately, the public sphere has become even narrower than before the revolution in the face of a long list of laws limiting the work of the civil society. One positive aspect I noticed during my research was the way the public supported and endorsed the demands of heritage conservation. In other contexts, cultural demands seemed luxurious in comparison to economic and social demands. However, this perspective shifted after the revolution with the rise of a

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wave of heritage activism, particularly in relation to 'Save Alex''s efforts to promote the right to heritage as one of the rights of the community.

I then explored how the approach of grassroots movements and civil society organizations contributed to addressing the issue of heritage protection in Alexandria. In this context, I have examined the tools that were adopted by different groups to advocate for a change in heritage management policies. The purpose of this analysis is to place these mobilization tools in the context of their use and discuss how efficient they have been in changing policy. At the end of the thesis, I presented an example of adaptive reuse of heritage through the case of the Societé Immobilièrebuilding on Fouad Street. Through this case, I opened a discussion concerning the pros and cons of the gentrification of historic districts. While the nature and economic activities of Fouad Street limit the generalizability of the analysis, this approach provides new insight into the exploration of adaptive reuse models in local contexts in a way that benefits the local community economically and brings new cultural meanings to the heritage.

The main conclusion that can be drawn is that involving the public in urban-development and heritage restoration projects would certainly contribute to enhancing urban policies. Additionally, it helps limit the negative impacts of gentrification, especially in the historical districts under development. More importantly, engaging locals in heritage-related discussions will advance their awareness of the surrounding heritage and will lead to them embracing new cultural meanings for heritage buildings. In light of this conclusion, several measures and steps can be undertaken to ensure the urgent safeguarding of the architectural heritage and develop better practices for the future:

- The local listing committee should allow access to the surveying information, especially concerning the value and the history of the building listed as architectural heritage. In addition,

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photographs, documents, and maps should be produced to assist in the process of identifying which building can be classified as heritage.

- The executive authority and the listing committee should consider modifying the listing criteria in the existing heritage list and following the standard as drafted in the 2nd article in Law 144. The modification of the list will avoid the removal of those buildings by the Administrative Court based on the previously mentioned grounds.

- A committee of experts and specialists in the field of urban planning, history, and anthropology, in addition to policymakers, needs to be formed to rethink the criteria set for architecture heritage. The committee should conduct consultations with different actors in heritage conservation and individuals involved in policy circles to reflect on current policy and propose legislation and administrative amendments to enhance the protection system.

- A bottom-up approach in strategic planning and decision-making concerning urban management should be adopted. In addition, activities should be encouraged that aim to promote local heritage in connection to the surrounding community, including the condition of public consultation in adaptive reuse projects.

As also emphasized previously, future research should be undertaken to assess the condition of the architectural heritage and map its context. Accordingly, projects should be designed for safeguarding architectural heritage and targeting its integration in local narratives. As a first step, this thesis brought attention to existing examples in the local Alexandrian context that succeeded in influencing the overall policy. Additionally, this initiative provided the local community with tools for mobilization for the conservation of heritage. I have started a mapping project during my studies at Central European University "From the ground, from El-Madinah" to locate the registered heritage buildings in accordance with Law 114/ 2006. Using the information published in the Alexandria heritage volume, including the address, the

building name, and location code on the volume maps, I mark the building and launch it for the public view on a google map application. The first phase of the project will lay down all the buildings included in the original heritage listing record from 2008. The next step is to identify which buildings demolished from 2008 to 2020. For reference, view the maps in the appendix.

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Appendices

Figure 34 Africa map, showing Egypt's Location.
 The researcher.

Figure 33 Administrative Map of Egypt. Nations Online Project.

*Figure 35
Alexandria
borders-
outline, by
the
researcher.
Google
Maps*

Figure 39Alexandria Governorate Headquarters. May 30, 2009. Google Maps.

Figure 38 Alexandria Governorate Headquarters. Aug. 28, 2013. Google Maps.

Figure 36Alexandria Governorate Headquarters. Dec. 04, 2018. Google Maps.

Figure 37 Alexandria Governorate Headquarters. May 07, 2019. Google Maps.

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Figure 41 Aghion Villa, May 30, 2009. Google Maps.   *Figure 40Aghion Villa, July 05, 2011. Google Maps*

Figure 42 Aghion Villa, April 16, 2018. Google Maps

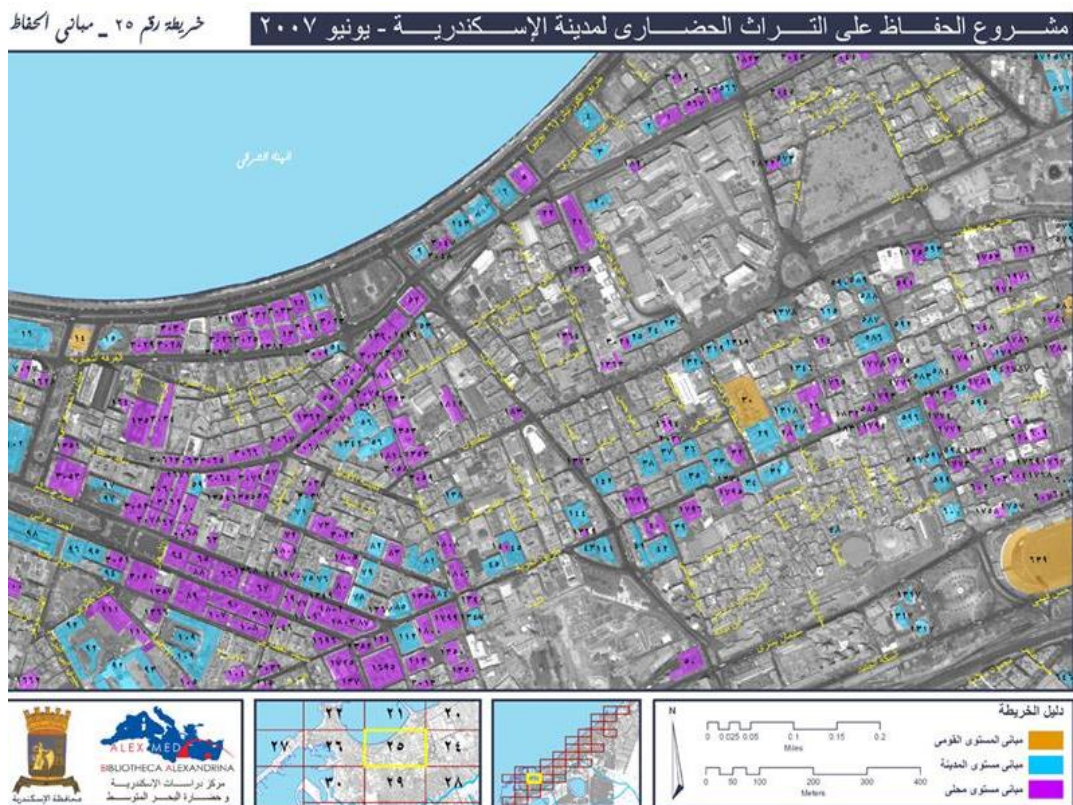*Figure 43 Fouad Street. Google Maps.*

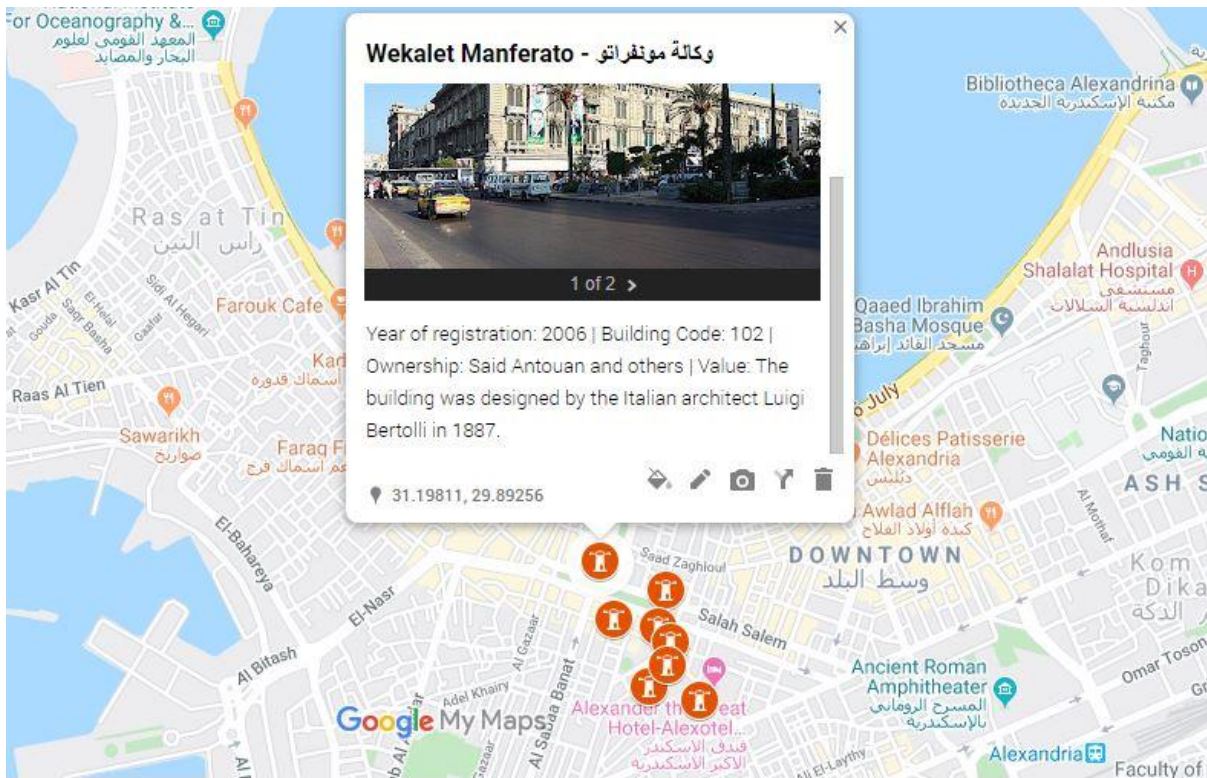*Figure 44 Downtown area, heritage list. AlexMed.*

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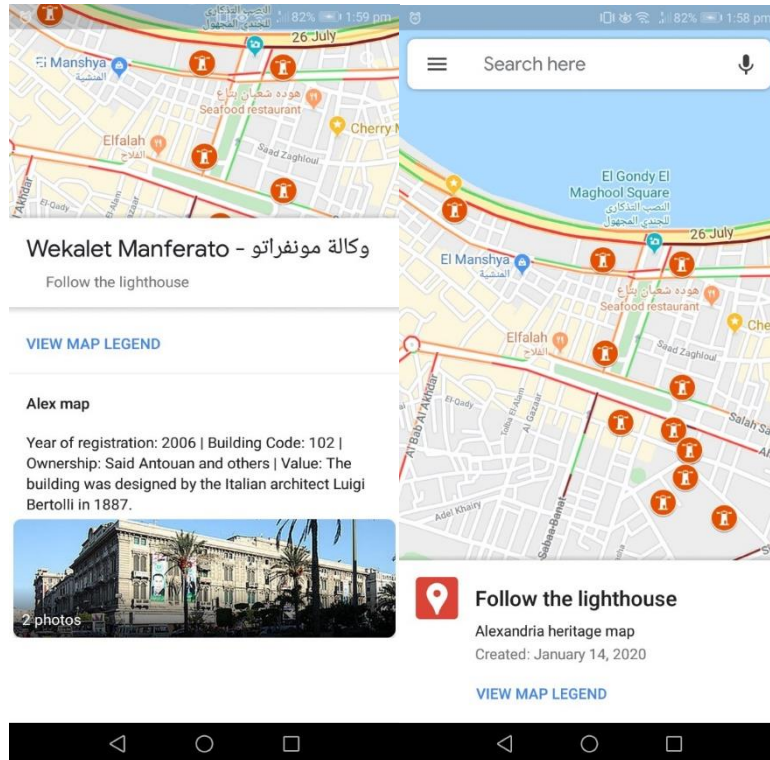Figure 45 Locating heritage buildings on Google Map. The researcher.

Figure 46 Mobile view for the located buildings. The researcher.